

**An exploration of a community's expectations of a community newspaper:
A case study of *Fourways Review***

by

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SUMMARY

This research explores to what extent the community newspaper, *Fourways Review*, which is distributed to a geographically demarcated area in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, is fulfilling the community's expectations; how community members use the newspaper and how *Fourways Review's* community journalists define their roles. The research uses a qualitative approach to collect data through face-to-face, in-depth interviews with a sample of 30 community members and eight news team members; and one week of participant observation in the newsroom. Data is analysed through a constant comparative technique.

The research finds *Fourways Review* is accepted in the community but is not as community-minded as a community newspaper should be, which affects how the community members use the publication. Community member respondents attribute the criticism to the influence of a market-driven approach to reporting. This is echoed by the news team respondents who say news production is influenced by community, advertising and inter-departmental pressures.

KEY TERMS

Community journalism; Community newspaper; Community journalists; Community; Local news; Expectations of a community newspaper; Journalists' role conceptions; Pressures influencing news production; Market-driven approach to reporting; Community-oriented approach to reporting; Using local news; Relationship between community and community newspaper.

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Community journalism is regarded as the practice of reporting with a focus on local news for a distinct geographical area (Reader 2012:3) and is characterised by newsrooms which are accessible to readers, to the extent that readers can tell the editors what is on their minds (Lauterer 2006:3). This includes readers sharing their thoughts on the quality of the news produced (Reader 2012:8). Previous studies have found that a close relationship between a community journalism newsroom and its readers is what separates community journalism from journalism that is aimed at larger distribution areas (Reader 2012:5). It is a relationship that can both strengthen and cause problems for news production, and is therefore a theoretical anchor of community journalism studies (Reader 2012:5). It is the dynamics of this relationship that this research sets out to explore at *Fourways Review*, a community newspaper which provides news for a geographically demarcated area in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

The research topic arose after a discussion with a *Fourways Review* journalist, who is now the publication's digital editor, revealed that she often feels pressurised by community members to report on stories which she does not believe are newsworthy or which do not correspond with the publication's style of reporting. A preliminary study revealed the need to explore the research topic and paved the way for the formation of the research problem. This chapter will contextualise the research problem; outline the research problem, sub-problems and related research questions; and describe the assumptions and potential limitations of this research.

1.2 Contextualising the research problem

In May 2014, a *Fourways Review* staff member, who was then a senior journalist and now the digital editor of the publication, received a phone call

from an angry community member who said there was no water in her suburb¹. The staff member first asked the resident whether she had logged a complaint call with the municipality. The resident had not and said she believed the issue would be resolved faster if the community newspaper questioned the municipality and reported on the matter. The staff member said such calls were typical to receive as the community often called on the community newspaper to solve their problems before they attempted to resolve them on their own. The staff member agreed with the resident's sentiment that often when the community newspaper reported on a problem it was resolved faster than if the community members followed the procedure of logging calls to the municipality and obtaining reference numbers. However, she believed that the instances in which the community newspaper had reported on stories and made a difference in the community had set a level of expectation among community members that the community newspaper will help to resolve their problems. This caused concern for the staff member who did not believe the newspaper could always meet the community's expectations.

An example of an instance where a community member put pressure on the community newspaper to report a story in a certain way can be seen in the staff member's article titled, "Riversands road causes controversy" (Padayachi 2014:3). This story reports that developers started constructing a road through a wetland in the Greater Kyalami Conservancy. The chairperson of the Greater Kyalami Conservancy did not believe the developers had followed the appropriate channels to get permission to build the road. She called on *Fourways Review* to name-and-shame the developers to enlighten the community about the situation, however, the staff member said she had to ensure fair comment was obtained from the developers and the city, and as a result she did not believe the article met the chairperson's expectations.

¹ This information was collected during preliminary participant observation in the *Fourways Review* newsroom and was obtained by virtue of being in the position of the news editor of *Fourways Review*.

These anecdotes point to the first problem for the research to consider, which is that *Fourways Review* does not always meet the community's expectations of a community newspaper. With consideration that previous studies into community journalism have found that the greatest resource to community journalism is its readers (Lauterer 2006:53), it is necessary for a community newspaper to meet the expectations of its audience in order to maintain readership (Poindexter, Heider & McCombs 2006:77). Further, understanding the public's opinion of local journalism will help to identify what they are interested in reading and which journalism practices they believe work, in order to encourage the public's trust and participation in local news (Heider, McCombs and Poindexter 2005:955). This research will also contribute to the exploration of the diverse news interests of a community which is a study area which needs further research (Freeland 2012:44).

The anecdotes further indicate a need to explore how the community uses the community newspaper to navigate the community. This forms the second problem of this research. It is derived from the outlined anecdote which showed how one community member wanted to use the newspaper to solve problems and another wanted it to name-and-shame individuals. However, the *Fourways Review* staff member said the newspaper did not fulfil such roles in its reports. The second problem of the research will therefore determine how the community uses *Fourways Review* and how it believes the community newspaper could help them to navigate the community better. Previous research studies on this topic have found that a community's social roles and personal experiences influence why they read the local press (Demers 1996:305). Therefore this research must also consider the influence of the community members' interactions within and attachment to the local community (Brehm 2007: 480) in an attempt to establish why they read *Fourways Review* and how they use it in the community. It is hoped the exploration will assist in understanding how the community uses the community newspaper and to find ways in which *Fourways Review* could provide content to assist the community to navigate the community more easily.

The identification and formation of the research problem began during 2013² and in an attempt determine to what extent the considered problem is a problem, a preliminary questionnaire was drawn up for a sample of 10 community members within *Fourways Review*'s distribution area to answer. The results of the preliminary questionnaire are included in this research as Appendix A. The questions related to how active the community members are in their community, to what extent they interact with *Fourways Review* and whether the newspaper is fulfilling their expectations. It was found the community members could relate to the issues reported however, all of the respondents described ways in which the publication could be enhanced to fulfil their expectations better. The community members were discontent with *Fourways Review* for not checking facts, publishing poor writing and sub-editing, publishing too many advertisements and not reporting with enough investigation on stories. The respondents had conflicting views on the role that *Fourways Review* should play in the community with five respondents saying that it should drive community issues, however two respondents strongly disagreed, believing that it was not the role of a community newspaper to solve problems. The questionnaire revealed there is scope for the research problem.

The anecdote of the *Fourways Review* staff member's consideration of whether the community members' requests were newsworthy and how she needed to report on the stories in order to fulfil the requirements of the publication in the anecdote leads to the need to explore the *Fourways Review* journalists' attitudes towards producing the news. This third problem of the research aims to determine how the *Fourways Review* journalists conceive of the roles that they play in producing news in the community and determine what is newsworthy. Recent studies have demonstrated that the way in which journalists' conceive of and enact their roles is not linear as the process of producing the news could be influenced by certain pressures (Edson, Tandoc, Hellmueller & Vos 2013:548). This research must consider how the *Fourways*

² The research problem was identified and formed while working in the *Fourways Review* newsroom.

Review journalists define their roles and what pressures they believe influence their news production.

While in the conceptualisation of this research problem, the research refers to the need to explore how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles, it is deemed necessary to explore how all of the staff members who produce and edit *Fourways Review*'s content conceive their roles. Therefore the *Fourways Review* journalists, editors and sub-editors' role conceptions will be explored. For ease of expression, this research will refer to all of the staff members as journalists in the conceptualisation and formation of the research problem.

1.3 Research problem

1.3.1 Problem statement

The purpose of this research is to explore the extent to which community newspaper *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations and to explore how the community uses *Fourways Review* to navigate the community by conducting in-depth, face-to-face interviews with 30 community members during October 2015; and further to explore how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence their role enactments by conducting face-to-face interviews with eight *Fourways Review* journalists during October 2015 and conducting field observation in the *Fourways Review* newsroom for one week during September 2015. A constant comparative technique will be used to analyse the collected data.

1.3.2 Sub-problems

The statement of the problem can be broken down into three sub-problems.

- The purpose of the research is to explore to what extent *Fourways Review* fulfils the community's expectations of a community newspaper

by conducting interviews with 30 community members during October 2015 and using a constant comparative technique to analyse the transcripts.

- This research will explore how community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community by collecting data through face-to-face interviews with the same 30 community members for the first sub-problem during October 2015 and conducting a constant comparative technique to analyse the transcripts.
- The third sub-problem this research will explore is how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence their role enactments by conducting face-to-face interviews with the journalists during October 2015 as well as conducting field observation in the newsroom during September 2015 and will use a constant comparative technique to analyse the collected data.

1.3.3 Research questions related to the three sub-problems

The research sets out to answer the following nine research questions which are related to the three sub-problems.

Research questions for sub-problem one

- How is *Fourways Review* fulfilling the community's expectations?
- How is *Fourways Review* not meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper?
- How could *Fourways Review* meet the community members' expectations better?

Research questions for sub-problem two

- How do the respondents use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community?

- To what extent do the community members depend on *Fourways Review* to navigate the community as opposed to depending on their social bonds in the community to find out what is happening?
- How could *Fourways Review* assist the community members better in order to provide news that they need in order to navigate the community and know what was happening?

Research questions for sub-problem three

- How do *Fourways Review*'s journalists define their roles?
- What pressures influence the community journalists' role enactments in producing news?
- How satisfied are the community journalists with the content produced in *Fourways Review*?

1.4 Operationalisation of concepts

1.4.1 Community journalism

The term community journalism is thought to have been coined in the 1950s by newspaper publisher and scholar Kenneth Byerly in a dispute about the name of a course he was assigned to teach at the University of North Carolina called "Country Weekly Newspaper Production" (Reader 2012:4). Byerly criticised the name of the course saying that not all community newspapers are confined to the countryside and not all are weekly (Reader 2012:4). A student in Byerly's class, Jock Lauterer went on to become one of the leading community journalism scholars in present day (Reader 2012:4) and has defined community journalism as chronicling and commenting on topics that affect people's daily lives in their neighbourhoods; reporting on all personal tragedies and achievements (Lauterer 2006: 26). Simply put, community journalism is oriented towards serving the community and is not commercially driven (Hatcher 2013:50). This is because community journalism tends to report news which is in the interest of the public before maximising the profits of the media house (Altschull 1996:171). However, it is argued that this is not always a practical

business model and although it is a role that community journalism institutions should strive to fulfil, failure to fulfil this role results in a weakness of community journalism (Altschull 1996:171).

Community journalism plays a role in not only providing readers with facts but to ensure that all community members have equal access to community resources (Altschull 1996:171) and information that they need to know in order to be free and self-governing (Hanitzsch 2007:374). Community journalism therefore can play a role in mediating conflict, for example by explaining issues to readers and facilitating their communication and decision making (Altschull 1996:172). It is argued that community journalism can play a role in bringing communities together and activate the community (Altschull 1996: 172). Therefore a challenge of community journalism is how to build a community through discourse (Hatcher 2013:51). A recent study found that in South Africa there is a need for community journalism to create a discourse for both affluent and underprivileged communities such as township communities, with the sentiment that an informed community is a strong community (Hatcher 2013:51). However, the extent to which community journalism should advocate issues or maintain an objective gatekeeping role which separates fact and opinion is still debated by researchers (Hanitzsch 2007:372).

1.4.2 Community newspaper

While the term community journalism is used to define various types of media (Hatcher 2013:50), this research is based on a community newspaper. This research leans heavily on Lauterer's (2006) definition of community newspapers as he captures the essence of the newspapers succinctly. Community newspapers are defined as a publication with a circulation under 50 000 and are distributed weekly, bi- or tri-weekly to a distinct geographical area (Lauterer 2006:1). Although later in the 20th Century, the term community journalism has been adapted to define publications that serve special interest groups (Reader 2012:3). Community newspapers are typically considered as small publications,

both in terms of the size of the publication and distribution areas which are small towns or demarcated areas within cities (Lauterer 2006:42). They are often free, funded through advertisements from local businesses (Reader 2012:12) and can be owned by a media company or independently owned (Lauterer 2006:7).

Like the national newspapers, community newspapers are bound by an inherent responsibility to report stories which are in the public interest (Steiner 2012: 21). However, local news is prioritised (Lauterer 2006:31), and therefore, unlike other mass media publications which aim to serve a wide audience, community newspapers are designed to inform a small community of readers (Janowitz 1951:520). While Janowitz's work dates back to the formation of the term community journalism, his definitions and theories of community journalism still have a bearing on community newspaper research today (Rosenberry 2012:28). Community newspapers therefore play a role in integrating individuals into the community (Janowitz 1951:520) and they are therefore accessible to the community members – allowing them to visit, call or e-mail newsrooms with their problems (Lauterer 2006: 42). It is thought that the close proximity between the community newspapers and the communities they serve is what sets them apart from provincial or national newspapers (Reader 2012:5).

Community newspapers can cover provincial or national issues in order to fill their pages or in order to ensure that readers are kept up-to-date with non-local news too (Lauterer 2006:32). However, they are typically not the go-to for non-local breaking news (Lauterer 2006:43) but no other newspapers should be covering the news within a community newspaper's distribution area as in-depth as the local newspaper (Lauterer 2006:33). Community newspapers typically cover municipal issues, school, sport and community members' achievements: big or small (Lauterer 2006:3). The news is focused on local content and covers the everyday lives of ordinary citizens (Lauterer 2006:3).

1.4.3 Community journalists

Community journalists strive to report accurately as they are arguably more accessible and accountable due to the close proximity of the newsrooms to the community (Lauterer 2006:101). Precision is also an important factor as community journalists have to get their facts correct as the community will know when they have got a fact wrong and in turn the journalist, or community newspaper, may easily lose credibility (Lauterer 2006:101). The role of a community journalist is considered to be more than reporting news and it is believed community journalists should play a role in educating the community on issues that they need to know (Hatcher 2013:49).

1.4.4 Community

The concept of community cannot be ignored when considering community journalism, as a community is the foundation for the production and distribution of a community newspaper (Steiner 2012:22). However, the term “community” is challenging to define as it is a contested notion (Lauterer 2006:84).

Communities are an umbrella body for individuals, and within communities, groups of people may join together to address issues (Hallahan 2005:172).

There are communities of ideas, ethnicity and place (Lauterer 2006:84).

Communities of ideas refer to community members who share similar ideas, beliefs or interests (Lewis 2008:232); while communities of ethnicity refer to people who are bound by the idea of their shared nationality (Lewis 2008:416). These communities can be formed across spatial boundaries and are therefore not geographically bound (Hallahan 2005:171).

A community of place, however, refers to the territorial definition of a community that lives in the same geographical location and shares similar psychological, economic, social and cultural bonds (Lauterer 2006: 84). It is this definition of community which this research will use in its definition of the *Fourways Review* community. *Fourways Review* is distributed to the community living in the

geographically demarcated area in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. Communities of place have been referred to as spatially bounded communities or geo-specific communities (Blum-Ross, Mills, Egglestone & Frohlich 2013: 173). Communication networks, such as community newspapers, are included in this social structure (Lowrey, Brozana & Mackay 2008:280). Communities of place are also subjected to governmental and legal boundaries (Lowrey et al 2008:280) and community members can interact with others both within and outside the geographical boundaries (Blandy & Lister 2005:288). Therefore communities of place are made up of webs of social relations that share similar values, interests and concerns (Lauterer 2006:84).

By providing local news to a community, community newspapers further play a role in affirming people's sense of belonging, helping people to feel inclusive in a community (Lauterer 2006:37). The term community also reflects inclusiveness and therefore community newspapers' recognition of their readers as part of the community creates a sense of place and civic identity for readers (Lauterer 2006:37). However, the concept of a community can be problematic as the act of forming a community can exclude some people (Lowrey et al 2008:277). Much research has been conducted into exploring the characteristics of an individual's attachment to a community in relation to how they use local media (Rosenberry 2012: 28). The literature on this topic will be reviewed in the next chapter.

1.5 Description of *Fourways Review*

In light of the definitions of a community newspaper outlined by various researchers in this chapter, *Fourways Review* is a community newspaper. During the preliminary research, it was found that *Fourways Review* is owned by Caxton & CTP in the division of Caxton Local Newspapers and has been distributed to the area every Wednesday for the past 11 years. *Fourways Review* is distributed to 37 150 households in its distribution area, which was demarcated around various suburbs by Caxton & CTP. The largest suburb of

the area, which is also the area's business node, is called Fourways and this is how the name *Fourways Review* was coined. The suburbs within the distribution area are not typically considered as a community, however they are situated close to one another geographically and are united in that *Fourways Review* is distributed to all of the doorsteps in this area. It is the only community newspaper that is distributed to the area. A map of the *Fourways Review* distribution area can be seen in Figure 1.1.

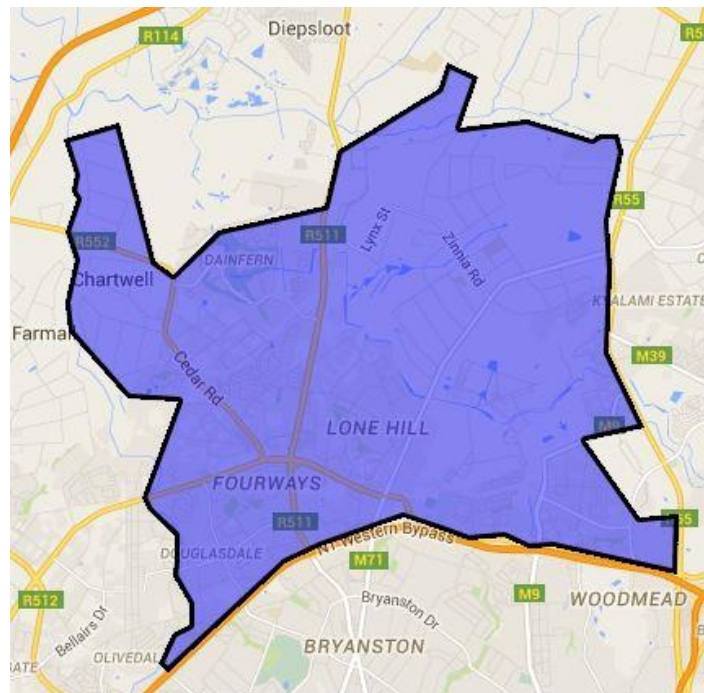


Figure 1.1: The demarcated *Fourways Review* distribution map

Source: Google My Maps 2016

For the purpose of this research and due to the definitions of community newspapers as outlined in this chapter, *Fourways Review* will be referred to as a community newspaper and its staff as community journalists. However, it should be noted that *Fourways Review*'s parent company Caxton & CTP has renamed the division under which *Fourways Review* falls from Caxton Community Newspapers to Caxton Local Newspapers. This name change came after the Media Development and Diversity Agency and Print and Digital Media South Africa, a non-profit voluntary organisation that unites publishers

such as Caxton & CTP publishers and printers under one body, recently agreed to define community media as based on the Media Development and Diversity Agency Act of 2002 and the Electronic Communications Act of 2005 (Media Development and Diversity Agency 2013). Under the act, media that is owned by a community where profits are re-invested into the publication and the community is defined as being geographically-bounded to the area, is referred to as community media (Media Development and Diversity Agency 2013). This definition of community media excludes community newspapers which are commercially owned and distributed by corporate media such as Caxton & CTP (Media Development and Diversity Agency 2013). The aim of this agreement is to promote diversity in South African media and to ensure that the amount of money spent on advertising for a publication is reflected by the term (Media Development and Diversity Agency 2013). Therefore, *Fourways Review's* parent company refers to *Fourways Review* as a local newspaper as opposed to a community newspaper.

Fourways Review's local news content is produced and edited by three journalists, a news editor, a digital editor, two sub-editors, a chief sub-editor and one group editor. There are four layout artists who design the publication every week. *Fourways Review* is part of the Caxton Johannesburg North Branch and shares a newsroom with five other weekly community newspapers and one monthly community newspaper. The newspaper's content is focused on local news in its distribution area, however, it does also report on the suburbs which border its distribution as can be seen on the map in Figure 1.1. These areas include Farmall, Bryanston, Woodmead, Kyalami Estates and the township Diepsloot. The community newspaper often reports on the newsworthy activities and events in the area with the purpose of informing and educating the local community. The newspaper is divided into seven sections, namely news (which covers crime and hard news), metro news (which covers municipal issues), opinion (which includes a column from the group editor, letters to the editor and comments posted on the newspaper's social media platforms), neighbourhood (which is the section where a range of community-based stories are placed and

include community members' achievements), schools (news on pupils' achievements and activities), entertainment and sport.



Figure 1.2: Front page of *Fourways Review*, for the week ending 19 June 2015

As the illustration of *Fourways Review*'s front page in Figure 1.2 shows, it is comprised of a large photograph with a headline, sub-headline and caption. The front page photograph is selected by the news editor and is chosen if it is an attractive photo which refers to a story which is believed to be of public interest, however, it does not necessarily have to be the most hard-hitting or impressionable story but rather a story that the news editor believes the community needs to know about. Therefore, the front page of the publication is

not always a crime, hard or metro news story but could be community, neighbourhood, schools or entertainment news. The most newsworthy sports story which has the most attractive photograph is allocated to the back page of the newspaper.

The newspaper also has a website, www.fourwaysreview.co.za which was developed in July 2013. The landing page of the website is illustrated in Figure 1.3.

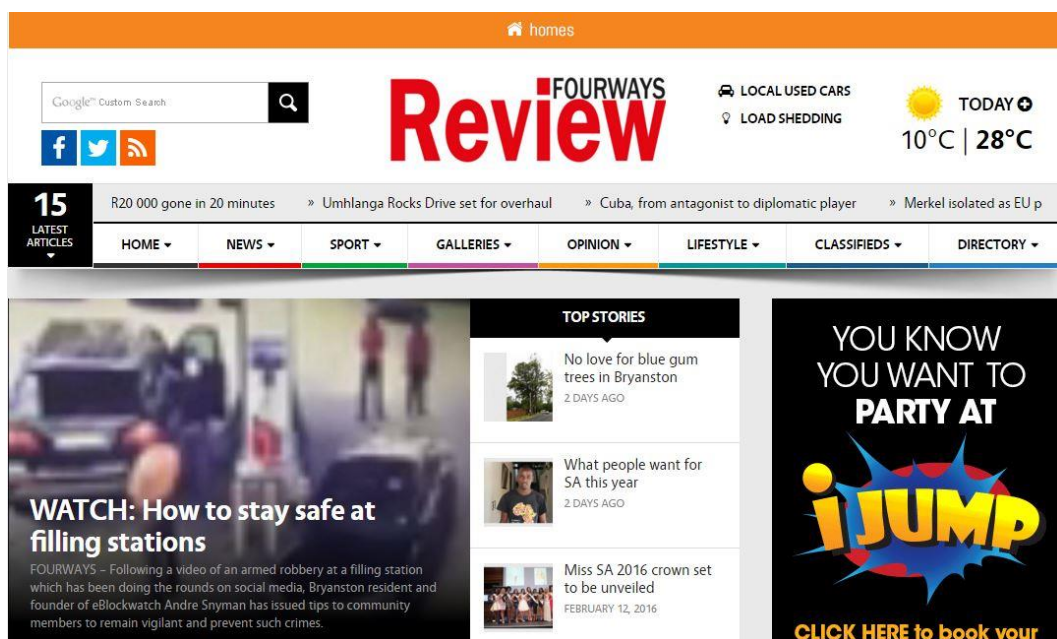


Figure 1.3: The landing page of www.fourwaysreview.co.za, on 14 February 2016

Fourways Review also has various pull-out supplements which are not compiled by the *Fourways Review* news team however will be pointed out here for reference. *Leisure Options* is one of these sections and is a lifestyle supplement that gives readers entertainment news such as places to visit, book and movie reviews, an events calendar, shopping and travel guides and information on children's entertainment. This supplement is distributed in *Fourways Review* every fortnight. There is a motoring section called *AutoDealer* which gives readers information on the launch of new cars, car reviews, news from the motoring industry and allows the community to advertise their pre-owned cars.

This section is inserted into the newspaper on a weekly basis. Another section which is included in the newspaper every week is *Property Week*, which displays the properties for sale or rent in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

Fourways Review is one of the biggest publications in the Johannesburg North branch with a minimum of 28 pages. The size of the newspaper is determined by the loading of the advertisements. In the peak advertising periods, for example before Easter and the festive season, the newspaper can increase to 72 pages. Advertising is sold on every page of the newspaper and three pages are dedicated to classified advertisements. The loading ratio of advertisements to the content produced by the *Fourways Review* journalists should be 50:50 but the ratio of advertising content can increase to 55:45 or decrease to 45:55. Pull-out advertising supplements, such as loose pamphlets and brochures are also inserted into the newspaper each week.

1.6 Assumptions

The research will test the following set of assumptions.

1.6.1 Assumption one

This research assumes that *Fourways Review* helps to form the identity of its readers as being part of the community and to identify with other community members. This is due to the theory that news media plays a role in developing people's identities as part of a community (Lowrey 2012:96).

1.6.2 Assumption two

The Fourways community relies on *Fourways Review* as their source of local information and to stay informed of the activities and achievements of other community members. Previous studies have shown that in order to inform their civic knowledge, citizens turn to the local press (Banda 2009:9). The civic

information published in the local community newspaper will help citizens with fundamental ideas and information in order to function effectively and responsibly in a democracy (Banda 2009:9).

1.6.3 Assumption three

Fourways Review helps to inform and motivate community members to participate in civic life. As citizens become informed and educated on civic life, they begin to participate in civic life more; therefore the community newspaper is important to influence citizen participation (Banda 2009:9).

1.6.4 Assumption four

Community members have a general understanding of the role of the community newspaper in the community. *Fourways Review* is a community newspaper which reports on local issues and is packaged and distributed locally to serve the Fourways community. As the newspaper is free and serves local news, most community members who read the newspaper have a general understanding of its role and know what it offers (Reader 2012:3).

1.6.5 Assumption five

The fifth assumption is that the production of local news is influenced by internal and external pressures in the community, just as the community members form their local identities through other influences than the community newspaper (Lowrey 2012:97).

1.6.6 Assumption six

This research assumes that the community members who read *Fourways Review* are not only recipients of the newspaper's content but contributors too. This is due to the findings of previous studies that civic knowledge is exchanged

two-ways in a multi-dimensional relationship (Lowrey 2012: 97). For example, the community members of *Fourways Review* can connect with its readers in more ways than in the distribution of its newspaper. Readers can call the newsroom, write letters to the editor or meet the journalists in the field. Community members can further respond to news on *Fourways Review's* website, or on its social media pages such as Facebook and Twitter.

1.6.7 Assumption seven

Community journalism is an on-going process between the community newspaper's staff and the community and this relationship allows for change (Lowrey 2012:96). It is assumed that the community members will suggest ways in which *Fourways Review* could report differently in order to serve the community with local news and believe that it is acceptable for the community newspaper to change its reporting style or role in the community.

1.7 Limitations

It is predicted that the research will confront various limitations.

1.7.1 Limitation one

An underlying limitation is that the research problem is that it is focused on one community newspaper, *Fourways Review*, its readers and community journalists. It is beyond the scope of this study to consider the readers' expectations and use of other community newspapers or to consider other journalists' role conceptions. The result of this is that the research will not be able to generalise the results to other community newspapers or communities.

1.7.2 Limitation two

The research is limited to exploring the community members' and *Fourways Review*'s news team's attitudes to the local news content which is produced and edited by the staff members. If the community members or staff members speak about the other sections of the newspaper, such as advertisements or the pull-out supplements, their comments will be noted, however, this research aims to measure the community's expectations and use of the content produced by the *Fourways Review* staff members only. It is further interested in how the members of the *Fourways Review* news team define their roles in producing and editing the local news content. It does not consider the attitudes of the other members of the *Fourways Review* team such as the sales or distribution departments.

1.7.3 Limitation three

Time constraints and the predicted feasibility of the study limits the number of qualitative interviews that can be conducted with the community members and journalists respectively. As the next chapter will show, the number of interviewees was carefully selected based on similar previous studies in order to ensure the interviews would collect enough data to measure results.

1.7.4 Limitation four

A content analysis which measures the diversity of the news content produced in *Fourways Review* could help to understand media and social change (Voakes, Kapfer, Kurpius & Shano-Yeon Chern 1996:582). Previous studies have analysed the structural diversities such as the differences in the size or types of news stories and geographical range of the content (Voakes et al 1996:583). The range of sources used in *Fourways Review* could further be analysed in an attempt to establish the range of sources used (Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan 1987:45). It has been found that certain pressures

influence the production of news, including pressures from media organisations on source selection; an aim to meet the media organisation's commercial needs as well as influencing ideologies from outside the newsroom (Brown et al 1987:46). Employing such methods in order to analyse the content produced in *Fourways Review* could capture the diversity of the content. However, it is considered beyond the boundary of the research problem set out in this dissertation to measure the diversity of *Fourways Review's* content.

Further, a content analysis on the *Fourways Review* community journalists' role enactments could be conducted and the results could be compared with the journalists' verbal statements on how they conceived of their roles (Edson et al 2013:546). This would test the extent to which the journalists' role conceptions and enactments differed (Edson et al 2013:546). This too, however, is considered beyond the scope of this research problem.

1.8 Conclusion

This first chapter has found that anecdotes from a *Fourways Review* staff member and a preliminary questionnaire for 10 community members to answer established the problem which this research sets out to explore. At the core of the research is the theoretical perspective that community journalism is characterised by a close relationship between a community and community journalists, and while it can be a strength, it also causes problems (Reader 2012:5). This close relationship enables community members to tell the community journalists how they want the news reported (Reader 2012:8). A *Fourways Review* staff member describes how community members often call the journalists to describe their disgruntlement when the newspaper does not meet their expectations. This establishes the first sub-problem which aims to explore the extent to which *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper. Secondly, the *Fourways Review* staff member described how the community members want to use *Fourways Review* to help them in the community for example, through helping them to solve their

problems. This contextualised the establishment of the second sub-problem which aims to explore how community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community. Related to this sub-problem is a research question of how *Fourways Review* could provide content to help the community members in the community more effectively.

The *Fourways Review* staff member further revealed that she often felt conflicted when pressured by the community on what or how to report, knowing that she also had to report in-line with the policies of the newsroom. This established the third sub-problem which aims to determine how the community journalists, including the three journalists; two sub-editors; chief sub-editor; digital editor and group editor, conceive of their roles and what pressures they confront in enacting those roles. The research will employ qualitative research methods to collect and analyse the data.

This chapter further described the theoretical perspectives of certain researchers' conceptions of what constitutes community journalism, and with that a description of the terms community newspaper, community journalists and a community which will be used in this research. Further, the chapter found that *Fourways Review* fits the description of a community newspaper and will be referred to as such in this research in order to contribute to research into community journalism in South Africa. However, *Fourways Review* is referred to as a local newspaper by its parent company, Caxton & CTP within the division of Caxton Local Newspapers.

The research is based on seven assumptions, particularly that readers feel a sense of community through reading *Fourways Review* and that the community relies on the community newspaper for local information. There are some factors that are beyond the scope of this research, which were established in the limitations. The overarching limitation is that as this research is based on one community's expectations and use of a community newspaper and that community newspaper's journalists' role conceptions. The research results can

therefore not be generalised to other community newspapers, communities or community journalists. Further the research is limited to a small number of respondents and the local news content produced by the journalists, including letters to the editor and the group editor's column, only. The next chapter will review literature on community journalism and studies which are similar to this research.

2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The key trait of community journalism is the close proximity of the community journalism institutions to the communities that they serve, which often results in much interaction between the media practitioners and recipients (Reader 2012:5). This has been termed as community journalism's "nearness to people" (Reader 2012:5). From a research perspective, the study of community journalism largely considers the interactions between the community journalists and their communities (Reader 2012:5). The main themes in the literature on the studies of community journalism research have centred on defining and exploring the closeness of the relationship between the community journalism institutions (including staff and the content that is produced) and the communities (including the community organisations and individuals) (Rosenberry 2012:25). Reviewing the literature on the relationship between community journalism institutions and their communities is therefore central to understanding the theories of previous community journalism studies (Reader 2012:5).

The relationship and interactions between a community journalism institution and the community establishes the framework for this research, which is based on the community newspaper *Fourways Review* and the community it serves in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. As described in the previous chapter, this research sets out to explore three sub-problems which are related to the research problem. These sub-problems intend to: firstly, explore the extent to which *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper; secondly, explore how the community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community and; thirdly, explore how the *Fourways Review* community journalists define their roles and what pressures they believe influences how they enact their roles. This chapter will review the existing literature on the topics of these sub-problems in order to establish the

limits of the knowledge and a framework for this research. It will also be useful to consider the methodologies that previous studies have used to collect and analyse research in this field. The literature on the relationship between a community newspaper and its community; the community's expectations of local news; how the community's personal experiences affect their consumption of the community newspaper and how community journalists view their roles will be reviewed in this chapter.

This literature review will describe that much of the research into community journalism has centred on the relationship dynamics between the community journalists and the communities which they serve (Reader 2012:5). Important developments in the field of community journalism date to the 1950s and 1960s where researcher Janowitz (1951) provided the grounds to determine how a community's characteristics and sense of belonging to a community could influence their use of the media (Rosenberry 2012:28). While these studies date back more than 50 years, the research methods and findings continue to underpin the research into the relationship between communities and community journalism institutions (Rosenberry 2012: 28).

Many researchers have taken up the challenge to expand on Janowitz's work into the relationship between the community newspapers and the communities they serve in order to determine how media use, community characteristics and an individual's sense of connectedness to a community related to one another (Rosenberry 2012: 28). This research has come to be termed community ties research and aims to determine what influences community members to read their community newspaper (Demers 1996:305). In this field of community journalism research, researchers have considered whether various community characteristics cause the community to read the community press, however, they have not been able to prove a universal theory and therefore research in this field is on-going (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:175). This literature establishes the framework of existing literature for the second sub-problem. It was considered that since the studies into how community members use a

publication to navigate the community precede the studies into what they expect from a community newspaper, this chapter would review literature for the second sub-problem before the first.

Readers' attitudes of the community press is also not a new topic, and an initial study in this field dates to a study by Greenberg (1964). However the exploration of what the public expects from news has not been explored extensively (Heider, McCombs & Poindexter 2005). This literature review is limited in this section as only a few American studies were found relating to this topic. However, this also shows that there is a need for more research in this field, as studies into what the public want to read are important in order to maintain the public's interest in news and civic life (Heider et al 2005). Reviewing this literature establishes the limits of the knowledge on the topic of the first sub-problem.

The chapter will then consider the literature into the attitudes of the community journalists who produce and edit the content of the community newspaper. This establishes the framework for the third sub-problem. Extensive studies were found on this research topic from around the world and the relevant literature will be reviewed in this chapter. These studies sought to determine how much time journalists focus on giving readers what they want to read as opposed to what the journalists think readers ought to know (Hanusch 2008), how the community journalists view their roles (Robinson & DeShano 2011) and how community journalists distinguished their roles in the community (Coble-Krings 2005). A study of how South African community journalists define their roles and their relationship with the communities they serve (Hatcher 2013) will help to establish the how South African community journalists define themselves.

2.2 Relationship between community journalism and communities

The close relationship between the community and community journalists provides many research questions as this closeness is both a strength and

problem causer (Reader 2012:5). Two themes emerge in the literature on community journalism. The first is that community journalism is defined by the intimate relations shared between the community journalists and the community members (Rosenberry 2012:25). The second theme studied is the interaction between the community journalism newsrooms with the local community structures (Rosenberry 2012:25).

The close proximity of the community journalists to the community members can create strong relationships to tell the untold stories in a community and has been described as the friendly-neighbour relationship (Reader 2012:9). This relationship was demonstrated when a community newspaper in North Carolina, the *Daily Record* was featured in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2001 for its strong readership (Lauterer 2006:53). The newspaper's community journalists were involved in the community, cared for the welfare of the residents in their reporting and encouraged a strong sense of community among the readers through the news they reported (Lauterer 2006:54). Studies into the relationship between the community journalists and community, such as how the content provides the community members with information that they need in order to function within a community, arose in the 1950s and have since been researched and developed (Rosenberry 2012:26). The research examined the relationship between a community and its community newspaper in terms of how the content and function of the newspaper were linked to the social requirements of the community (Rosenberry 2012:26). The research aimed to assess the functions and implications of local news on a community (Janowitz 1951:520).

An early key sociological study into the community's responses to the content of the community press was conducted on neighbourhood community newspapers (Janowitz 1951:520). While Janowitz's work is dated and his methodology and findings have been reviewed over the years, his initial study has been used as a springboard in the literature of community journalism (Rosenberry 2012:26) and is therefore important to review in this chapter. This is because Janowitz's

research led to the exploration of how media use, community characteristics and an individual's sense of community relate to one another, which was the agenda for community ties research (Rosenberry 2012:28) and such works will be reviewed in this chapter too.

The study conducted interviews with 600 people in three different communities in Chicago and assessed the interviewees' verbal responses to what they could remember about their community newspaper, for example the amount of content, degree of importance and the sections of the community newspaper (1951:520). These verbal responses from the community were referred to as imagery and the data measured how exposed the communities were to their respective community newspapers and to what extent they contributed to the newspapers' content (Janowitz 1951:521). A quantitative methodology was used to assess the community's verbal responses of what they could remember from reading the community newspaper's content (Janowitz 1951:521). While this approach differs significantly to the methods that will be employed in this research, considering the community's verbal responses to the content in *Fourways Review* can be considered in this research, albeit through a different research approach.

Janowitz's study revealed that the community press was not seen as a competing news source to the daily press but was believed to report on the progress of the community and re-enforce the community's social contacts (Janowitz 1951:522). The community saw the sources quoted in the community press as similar to themselves and 10 percent of respondents said that they or their family members had received publicity in the community newspaper (Janowitz 1951:530). The study showed that community press has a high impact in urban areas as it contributes to the solidarity, or sense of community among community members within its distribution area (Janowitz 1951:531). The relevance of reviewing this study is that it produced this initial finding that community press could have implications on a community and could be useful to a community. In more recent literature, researchers have argued that the

importance of Janowitz's research findings was that they documented how community newspapers helped community members to navigate the institutions, organisations and news in their communities (Rosenberry 2012:28). Further, Janowitz's study demonstrated that the community press covered local issues, explained why they were important and reinforced local values and traditions (Rosenberry 2012:28). Janowitz's research emphasised that a community newspaper's success depended on how intimately it covered the events and routines of a community through reporting on social and cultural events in a community (Rosenberry 2012:28). In 2006, a case study on newspapers in Pennsylvania, United States of America expanded research into how intimate relations between journalists and community members could impact the news coverage by measuring how accessible the newsrooms were to the community (Lauterer 2006:62).

The research aimed to establish how community-minded the community newspapers were (Lauterer 2006:62). A case study on 80 daily newspapers and 80 percent of the 184 weekly newspapers in Pennsylvania over a six-month period was conducted in 1999 and the staff in the newsrooms, such as editors, publishers, reporters and photographers, had to classify the newsroom into three categories ranging from wide open to restricted access (Lauterer 2006:63). While the study conducted a quantitative research analysis with a wide sample which this research does not intend to employ, the research questions of determining the accessibility of the newsroom can contribute to understanding the relationship dynamics between a community newspaper and the community it serves.

The results showed that the newspapers with smaller circulations and weekly distributions were more likely to be wide or fairly open, with the sentiment that the community journalists wanted to be seen as part of the community and so that community members could talk to them in person (Lauterer 2006:67). The larger, daily circulation newspapers were more inclined to have restricted access which was justified by the journalists considering themselves as

separate from their readers in an us versus them fashion (Lauterer 2006:68). It was further considered that restricting access to newsrooms was considered to alienate the relationship between the community and community journalists (Lauterer 2006:67). The results suggested that open access allowed the community journalists to be more connected to their communities and concluded that the extent to which a newsroom is accessible by its readers indicates how connected the newspaper is to its community (Lauterer 2006:65). This provides grounds for this research to also consider to what extent the community members find the *Fourways Review* journalists accessible, and thereby consider how connected the relationship between them is, in the exploration of how the community uses *Fourways Review* to navigate the community.

2.3 Ways in which community members use community newspapers

The implication of community ties research is that local media benefits when there is a strong relationship between the individual and the community (Stamm 1988:357). Community ties research revealed that individuals are dependent on the community for a place to live and work, for services and for less tangible characteristics, such as feeling a sense of belonging (Stamm 1988:357). Such research was expanded in order to explain how a community's social roles and personal experiences mediate the effects of mass-communicated messages (Demers 1996:305). This research began in the 1970s as scholars became increasingly concerned with the effects of urbanisation on communities (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:328). While community ties research predicts readership and discovers how newspapers play a role in integrating individuals into communities, it is difficult to separate media use from the consequence of media use in the findings (Stamm 1988:357). A research problem that emerged from community ties research was the influence of population size and density on the patterns of social participation and community attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:328).

Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) were among the first to research this problem, and while their work is dated, it has been extended and referred to over the years for the contribution made to this field (Brehm 2007). The research aimed to examine the implication of the linear and systemic models on society and expected that population size and density would not be associated with significant differences in community participation and attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:330). The linear development model hypothesises that an increase in population size and density is the primary influence in social behaviour, whereas in the systemic model, the social fabric of communities in a geographical place can be seen by focusing on the local social networks (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:329). The data was collected through a survey conducted in 1967 with 2 199 adults in England and collected information on the social position attitude, demographic characteristics and social behaviour both within and without the local community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:330).

The data was analysed to examine social factors which influenced the character of the community's attachment to and participation in the local community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:330). Five independent variables were measured, namely: population size, density, length of residence, social class and the community member's stage in life (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:330). Three questions were asked to measure the attitudes and sentiments of the community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:331). They questioned whether the residents felt at home in the community, how interested they were in the happenings in the community, how sorry or pleased the residents would be to leave the community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:331). The local social bonds were measured by questioning how many people they believed lived in the community, how many friends they had within a 10-minute distance and the proportion of their friends which lived in their home area (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:331). Extensive questions on the community members' participation in the types of organisations were asked, such as whether they were involved in political, church, civic, sports clubs and public bodies (Kasarda & Janowitz

1974:331). This research will also use these questions to determine the community's attachment to the *Fourways Review* distribution area.

The study found that the residents' length of residence in the community was a crucial factor in the development of social bonds (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:339). The residents' formal ties in the community were found to help in fostering contacts and that the size and density of the population did not weaken the sentiments of the community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:339). These findings show that it is therefore important for this research to question the community members' length of residence in the community.

The systemic model has been replicated and modified by contemporary researchers who continued to explore the impacts of different forms of social organisations on social bonds (Brehm 2007:477). Many researchers have considered what ties community members to a place, process or structure and what the nature of community ties are (Stamm 1988:358). The usual outcome of these studies is that long-term residence is highly correlated to the residents' strong social attachment (Brehm 2007:477).

The influence of the natural environment on the residents' attachment to the community was considered in the 2000s, for example a study by Brehm (2007) found that the length of residence may vary and this impacts the strength of the community members' social ties (Brehm 2007:478). The study set out to examine the intricate and complex nature of the natural environment which influences residents' attachment to the community (Brehm 2007:478). It aimed to demonstrate that it was necessary to examine the elements in the natural environmental in order to understand community attachment research (Brehm 2007:478). This research was based on a geographical community which follows the findings of early community attachment research which argue that a community's sense of place allows residents to acquire a sense of belonging to the community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:478). The sentiments of a community combine to contribute to the individuals' sense of place, which could be that

they feel rooted in a community, placeless or alienated (Hummon 1992:254). Community attachment, satisfaction and identity comprise of three approaches to understanding a community's sentiment, which if favourable, may indicate well-being in the community (Hummon 1992:254). Brehm's (2007) study focused only on community attachment.

Brehm's (2007) research into how the natural environment influenced community attachment formed the second stage of a project which examined the broad issues of social change and community attachment in the rural community of Utah through a survey with 200 residents (Brehm 2007:480). Then, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 28 of the respondents (Brehm 2007:481). Reviewing this methodology is useful to this research which will employ a similar qualitative approach, which will be described in the next chapter. The respondents were questioned on how long they had been residents and what their occupational backgrounds were (Brehm 2007:481). The interviews were semi-structured, organised discussions and detailed field notes were transcribed and coded in order to identify statements that reflected particular aspects of community attachment that Hummon (1992) outlined (Brehm 2007:481). The respondents were asked to describe what was most important to them in the community, describe the community in their own terms and the discussions aimed to get the interviewees to reflect on their emotional attachment to the community (Brehm 2007:481).

The interviews were coded and the quotes which reflected similar themes were grouped into categories (Brehm 2007:482). While only one category reflected the view that the natural environment contributed to an emotional attachment to the community, four other categories showed that separation from the natural environment was not possible (Brehm 2007:486). The qualitative results indicated that respondents did not express their attachment to the natural environment as distinct from their social interactions (Brehm 2007:486). However, a large percentage of the respondents discussed their attachment to the natural environment within the context of activities which involved social

interaction and many respondents also discussed their attachment to the natural environment as a context for social activities (Brehm 2007:486). It was found that most of the respondents could not distinguish the natural environment as distinct from their community attachment (Brehm 2007:486). The findings showed that the natural environment was essential to community attachment, although it was considered that more research in this field is needed to consider whether similar results are found in other communities (Brehm 2007:487).

Another study which sought to examine how residents identify with their local community was conducted in the 1990s in Manchester, United Kingdom (Savage 2008:151). The research methodology in this study is not similar to this research, but it is interesting to consider the findings. The study used a wide range of primary interview transcripts from a variety of places which were conducted during the period of 1950 to 1970. These transcripts reflected respondents' views on whether they felt a sense of belonging to their community, whether they expected to live in their community for a long time and whether they were happy with where they lived (Savage 2008:152). The researcher also discussed a previous study which he had previously conducted with two others (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst 2004) which interviewed residents in Manchester during the 1990s (Savage 2008:152). All of the studies that were selected showcased a wide-range of reflections on the way in which the community identified with its locality, and presented an opportunity to reflect on the similarities and differences of how communities identify with their locality (Savage 2008:155).

The study accounted for the fact that the research was not all collected using the same methods (Savage 2008:154). While Bott (1956) probed domestic family life in 20 households in a detailed analysis which entailed return visits, the studies of Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt (1969) and Brannen and Brown (1975) were structured with specific questions (Savage 2008: 154). Pahl (1965) and Jackson (1968) conducted in-depth interviews (Savage 2008:

154). The study argued that it could detect new modes of local identity in Britain and which led to the need to re-think the understandings of identity (Savage 2008:154). This was because whereas in the post-war years up to the 1980s people's sense of identity was restricted to cultural geography, there was a new localism as there was a possibility that one could live elsewhere but still maintain a nostalgia to a certain place (Savage 2008:161). Therefore people could have a fixed identity for both local and mobile attachment (Savage 2008:161). The study is important to consider for this research as it studies community attachment in relation to place, as this research will do.

For this research, it is important to review previous community attachment studies which have explored the relations between community ties and media use. One such study was researched in the 1990s and sought to discover whether personal experience with an issue stimulated community members to read their community newspaper (Demers 1996:305). Data was obtained from two surveys from small town community members and university students in Wisconsin in America (Demers 1996:305). At the core of the study was the theoretical perspective that a community's personal experience with an issue would increase their use of the media (Demers 1996:306). The amount of time the interviewees spent reading the newspaper, as well as specific issues within the newspaper, were measured against their personal experiences in the community, such as how many organisations they were signed up to and whether they were a resident or commuter (Demers 1996:310).

The results showed that the community members' closeness to the community, age and homeowner status was consistent with previous studies, such that the more ties, older interviewees and homeowners were, the more likely that they read the local newspaper (Demers 1996:311). However, in contrast in the results in previous studies, it was found that residents with a high socio-economic status were less inclined to read the community press (Demers 1996:311). Also, in contrast to previous studies, residents who worked but did not live in a community were less inclined to read the community newspaper

(Demers 1996:312). The study suggested the reason for this was that workers did not share enough personal experiences in a community in order to care about that community (Demers 1996:312). It was suggested that further research was needed to examine how community characteristics, social ties and personal experiences influence why residents read the community press (Demers 1996:314).

A recent study that took up this challenge to explore the relationship between local news use and community attachment attempted to find a causality in the relationship (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:174). It has long been suggested that there is considerable evidence to indicate that there is a relationship between local news use and community attachment (Stamm 1988), however, there is little evidence to indicate which variable causes the other (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:175). An American nation-wide panel analysis was conducted in order to determine consistency in the relationship between local media use and community attachment across different communities and media systems to be examined (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:175). The aim of the research was to verify the presence of the relationship, evaluate whether the relationship was causal, and determine whether the relationship was unidirectional and if it was, to confirm where the influence flowed from (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:176). The hypothesis of the study was that there would be positive support for the theory that community attachment predicted local news and vice versa and that it would be reciprocal causal (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:181).

The researchers used nationally representative panel survey data which was collected in four waves between February 1999 and June 2001 (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:182). Demographic and structural variables were measured such as age, gender, property ownership, education and length of resident (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:182). The data showed that a relationship between local news use and community attachment did exist but it did not have evidence of the causal-relationship between community attachment and local newspaper use (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:190). The study suggested there needs to be more

complex and innovative research designs to determine the causality relationship and argued that panel studies would be capable to sort out the causal ambiguities (Hoffman & Eveland 2010:193). While the aim of this research is not to expand on this study, reviewing the study gives background to the recent community attachment research and that more research in this field is suggested.

The studies reviewed in this section are useful for this research as they establish a framework for how individuals' attachments to the community can affect how they use the community newspaper. They further establish methods and questions that can be employed in the collection of data for this dissertation.

2.4 Attitudes to local news

Research into community ties then progressed to consider the attitudes of the both the community members and media practitioners towards local news (Greenberg 1964; Heider McCombs & Poindexter 2005; Coble-Krings 2005; Robinson & DeShano 2011). Two themes emerge from these studies and are relevant to this research. The first theme considered what the community's expectations are of local news (Heider et al 2005; Coble-Krings 2005); and the second theme studied how the community journalists view their roles in the communities which they serve (Coble-Krings 2005; Robinson & DeShano 2011; Hatcher 2013). It is these two research themes which this research will explore in terms of the Fourways community and *Fourways Review's* community journalists. The studies further explore the relationship between communities and the community newspapers or journalists, and therefore relate to the theoretical framework of community journalism as conceived by Reader (2012).

2.4.1 Community members' expectations of local news

Studies into the public's expectations of local news have been driven largely by the aim to identify the key issues that could increase the public's interest in news and civic life (Heider et al 2005:953). Previous studies on this topic have argued that the public's view of local news is important for the practice of journalism and for society (Heider et al 2005:955). It was found that only a few studies over the years have explored how the practise of journalism affects the public and whether it has contributed to the decline in the interest of news among the community (Heider et al 2005:952). These studies were dominantly researched in America, and it proved difficult to find such studies from other parts of the world. Therefore, the studies reviewed in this section are predominantly American-based. The studies reviewed in this section establish the framework for the first sub-problem of this research.

An example of an early study into the attitudes of readers and media practitioners revealed there was a disagreement between the readers and editors, and suggested more research into what the public expects of local news was needed (Greenberg 1964:437). While this study is dated, recent research has still found there is a mismatch between the expectations of the readers and journalists and that there has not been much research into this topic (Heider et al 2005:955). Such studies prompt the need for further research in this field (Heider et al 2005:955). For example, the research conducted by Heider et al suggests that if the press does not deliver news that the community wants to read, it will become disconnected from the community (Heider et al 2005:963).

The study focuses on citizen journalism, which is a journalism approach that addresses readers as citizens who participate in the community and aims to contribute to improving the community (Kurpius 2002:885), as opposed to community journalism (Heider et al 2005:955). However it is an important study to review in this chapter for the contributions it makes into the limited research

into considering what the community expects from local news. The researchers also attest to the fact that not much research has explored the public's attitudes towards the practice of journalism, saying that in over 50 empirical studies on citizen journalism they did not find one that aimed to determine what the public's opinion on local news was (Heider et al 2005:962).

The aim of the study was to determine what the public thinks of journalistic practice in general, expects of local news and believes important roles of journalism are (Heider et al 2005:955). The research also compared the journalists' and public's views on what they believed were important practises of journalism and considered the respondents' underlying views of the expectations of local news (Heider et al 2005:955). It was also questioned whether certain demographic groups were more likely to endorse civic journalism (Heider et al 2005:955), however, this is not a concern of this research.

The study described the role of local news coverage as: reporting on the widest range of news, concentrating on certain topics, providing a forum for community views, being a watchdog, highlighting interesting people and offering solutions to community problems (Heider et al 2005:956). The characteristics of news coverage were described as accuracy, rapid reporting, understanding the local community, unbiased reporting, caring about the community, inclusive of different viewpoints and explaining issues (Heider et al 2005:956). These descriptions will inform how the roles and characteristics of local news are conceptualised in this research.

The methodology used in Heider et al's (2005) research uses a quantitative approach to collect the data from a random sample of 600 community members in a south western metropolitan area in America and interviews were conducted via the telephone (Heider et al 2005:956). The interviewees were asked to rate the roles and characteristics of local news coverage according to a scale of extremely, somewhat or not very important (Heider et al 2005:956). In terms of

obtaining the views of journalists on these issues, the study compared the public's views with those of the journalists' answers in "The American Journalist in the 21st Century" national survey (Heider et al 2005: 956). The journalists were also selected using random sampling and similar questions and scales were used and the methodological differences were outlined (Heider et al 2005:957). This methodology is different to that which will be employed by this research, however, this research will ask respondents to describe the roles and characteristics which they expect to be enacted in *Fourways Review*.

The results revealed that both the public and journalists rated accurate and unbiased reporting highly, but the two groups had different beliefs of what the role of news was (Heider et al 2005:963). The public did not strongly value the watchdog tactics and fast-paced reporting techniques of traditional journalism which the majority of the journalists supported (Heider et al 2005:962). The public endorsed the techniques of the press reporting in such a way as to find solutions to the community's problems, reporting with care and understanding of the local community and highlighting interesting people (Heider et al 2005:962). The research classified these dimensions as the "good neighbour" role of the press (Heider et al 2005:962). This differed from the dimensions of watchdog, unbiased, fast-paced which were strongly endorsed by the journalists (Heider et al 2005:962). The research concluded that if the press does not deliver the news that the community wants to read, the press will become disconnected from the community (Heider et al 2005:963).

These researchers went on to conduct further research into the sections of the population that expected local news to be a good neighbour and why they believed it was an important role for local news to fulfil (Poindexter et al 2006:81). The research found there were differences in socio-economic factors and attitudes, such as the type of news the respondents wanted local news to concentrate on producing, between those who strongly believed that local news should report as a good neighbour and those that did not (Poindexter et al 2006:85). While it is not certain yet what the community expects from *Fourways*

Review, in consideration of the public's strong endorsement of the good neighbour dimension in Poindexter et al's (2006) study, this research will question the respondents on the roles and characteristics they expect *Fourways Review* to fulfil in its news. This will include questions on the extent to which they believe *Fourways Review* should offer solutions to community problems or alternatively fulfil a watchdog role.

2.4.2 The relationship between community journalists and the community can influence news production

The close relationship between the community journalists and community members has the potential to cause ethical problems regarding conflicts of interest (Rosenberry 2012:34). A reciprocal relationship between the community journalists and community members is needed in order for the newspaper to be accountable and care for the community (Lauterer 2006:261). While community journalism should reflect balanced reporting, as a community newspaper is invested in the life of the community, it has a complex role of ensuring that it also helps to build the community by advocating worthwhile community issues (Lauterer 2006:261). Therefore, it is argued that community journalists can serve a role in enhancing the social networks in a community, also known as the social capital (Putnam 1995:66); which, as this literature review has revealed, are important in enhancing community members' sense of attachment to a place (Green & Haines 2015:143).

As pointed out in the research by Heider et al (2005), it is important for community journalists to understand their role as writing to individual people with problems and neighbourhood issues with an aim to help them to resolve those issues (Lauterer 2006:262). It is considered as important for community journalists to question who their readers are, what they want to read and how the local news can provide solutions to their problems (Lauterer 2006:262). Community journalists can even participate in community issues, however they are cautioned from becoming too involved in the community that they serve as

this can raise ethical dilemmas (Lauterer 2006:262). It is argued that there are no formulas of how to handle news judgement or community involvement, but rather that the most important thing is that community journalists recognise their role in the community as serving community members as citizens who matter (Lauterer 2006:262).

Research into the relationships between community journalists and community members within the social context of communities has tried to determine what influences the production of news (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999). One such study demonstrates that in order to understand the relationship between the journalists and news sources, it is important to understand the dynamics within the community (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:134). This was because it was considered that members of a community who share discourses and social experiences form an interpretive community in which preferred meanings can be developed and promoted through news production (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:126). Preferred meanings could be established to uphold the media's privileged position or reflect the interests of dominant groups in the community (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:126). It is argued that journalists' use of these preferred ideologies is not often a conscious decision but is influenced through shared interactions (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:126). In one example, it is argued that journalists learn the preconceptions that the community have on how they expect local news to be produced, which in turn influences how they produce news to meet the readers' expectations (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:128). Journalists are further influenced by their colleagues, supervisors and news organisations and learn to tell news through the narratives that have already been developed in the community, for example the sources that are commonly quoted (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:128). Journalists can therefore be constrained by the nature of the community and the influences which impact the way in which they operate in the interpretive community (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:133).

The literature reviewed in this section indicates the need for this research to consider the pressures that may influence the *Fourways Review* community journalists' production of news.

2.4.3 Ways in which community journalists define their roles in society

The behaviour of community media practitioners has been studied extensively in community journalism research (Rosenberry 2012:34). Research in this field has included studies which explored the journalists' and editors' attitudes towards what they considered to be newsworthy, how accountable community journalists felt towards their communities and how their conceived roles affected the decisions that they made in producing news (Rosenberry 2012:35).

Literature on how community journalists can and do define their roles is reviewed in this section to establish the theoretical perspectives for the third sub-problem of this research which aims to determine how *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence how they enact those roles.

Berkowitz and TerKeurst's study (1999) explained that journalists have their own ideologies, and this literature will review the three frameworks for analysing the relationship between media, audiences and their interactivity as established by researchers (1995). While the study is dated, the frameworks are still relevant (Gilligan 2012:45) and form a basis to understand the roles that journalists can enact in producing news. The first framework is that media can enact a fourth estate watchdog role in which it represents the interests of the populace, rather than of dominant groups within society and have substantial autonomy (Donohue, Tichenor & Olien 1995:117). In contrast, journalists can play a lapdog role in which they report in a manner which is submissive to the authority and oblivious of the opposition groups (Donohue et al 1995:120). In lapdog reporting, the issues are framed according to the perspectives of those in power and journalists lack independence in choosing how they would report on the issue (Donohue et al 1995:120). Guard dog reporting is described as

helping those who are in power and this type of reporting assumes that the media reflects the interests of the dominant groups with the inclination of maintaining the position of those dominant groups in the society (Donohue et al 1995:119). Considering the various perspectives of news production, it can be seen that issues reported in the media are not always determined by the media but are rather influenced by dominant groups in a society (Donohue et al 1995:128). This is an important consideration for this research, that journalists' roles can be influenced by pressures beyond their control.

A recent study aimed to find empirical evidence to support the assumption that there was a linear relationship between the journalists' perceived ideologies of news and the stories they produced (Edson et al 2013:539). The study aimed to explore whether journalists' media outputs were based on their role conceptions (Edson et al 2013:539). The study presumed that journalists' role enactments are not only representative of their own role conceptions, but are influenced by the preferred meanings established by the news organisation and community (Edson et al 2013:540). This is because journalism is a social institution and is subjected to pressures which often render the individuals in those organisations with little autonomy (Edson et al 2013:541).

The research methodology is not similar to this research and is not necessary to discuss but for reference, an online survey was conducted with 105 respondents from Canada, United States, France, Germany, India, Italy, Mexico, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom and Israel (Edson et al 2013:541). The aim of the survey was to collect data on how the journalists viewed their roles (Edson et al 2013:541). The research further selected five articles which each of the 105 journalists had written in order to analyse the content according to a coding manual (Edson et al 2013:545). This data was collected to measure the extent to which the journalists' role conceptions predicted their corresponding role enactments (Edson et al 2013:540). The analysis found that none of the journalists' conceived roles accurately predicted their enactments of those roles; however,

the influence of journalists' routines, which included the pressures of deadlines, supervisors, colleagues and media house, were a stronger predictor of the journalists' role enactments (Edson et al 2013:548). This finding reveals that journalists are more inclined to be influenced by pressures on news production than to produce news that conforms to their conceived roles (Edson et al 2013:548). Therefore, the findings showed that the role conception to role enactment is not linear as assumed and that news content was produced through the enactment of an individual, but rather was influenced by the demands of journalism practise (Edson et al 2013:551). Therefore, routine practice was found to positively predict the disseminator-to-enactment role (Edson et al 2013:551).

This finding is important to consider as this research will explore how the *Fourways Review* community journalists, sub-editors and editors conceive of their roles. This is in-line with the suggestion of Edson et al (2013) that future studies should consider the role conceptions of not only the journalists but their supervisors and colleagues too (Edson et al 2013:552). While role conception may contribute to the final product of news stories, a causal explanation of role enactment which is based on role-conception should not be taken at face value (Edson et al 2013:552).

Studies into journalists' role conceptions have been mainly conducted in the United States during the 1970s (Hanusch 2008: 97), which arguably limits the scope of studies to review in this section; however, a survey was conducted to determine the backgrounds, values, beliefs and attitudes of Australian journalists' (Hanusch 2008:97). The study conducted telephone interviews with 100 Australian journalists between November 2007 and February 2008 and collected data on how they conceived their roles (Hanusch 2008:100). The study questioned how journalists intervene in society, for example, to what extent the journalists focus on giving the readers what they want to read as opposed to what the journalists think the readers ought to know (Hanusch 2008:101). It also questioned how journalists deal with ethical problems and

questioned whether the journalists made ethical decisions based on universal rules or whether it depended on the individual contexts (Hanusch 2008:101).

The results showed that journalists were in favour of a passive approach to reporting issues and believed that journalists should merely report as detached observers and should not get involved in the news (Hanusch 2008:102). A high number of journalists favoured a citizen-orientated approach to reporting issues, believing that it was important to provide citizens with the information that they need in order to make decisions (Hanusch 2008:102). The majority of journalists believed that they could remain impartial and that their own beliefs and convictions did not influence their reporting (Hanusch 2008:103). The majority of journalists said they only made claims that could be substantiated with evidence or sources (Hanusch 2008:103). These findings provide insight into journalists' role conceptions and the types of data that this research needs to collect from the *Fourways Review* journalists.

A more recent study into the attitude of media producers, including local journalists and bloggers, was conducted in Madison, Wisconsin to determine the roles that the two groups conceived of having in the community and whether they believed they had an authoritative voice (Robinson & DeShano 2011:964). This study is reviewed here with specific mention to the methodology that was employed as this methodology will inform the qualitative research approach to collect data in this research. In-depth interviews were conducted with 38 people in Madison, 24 of which were citizen journalists and 14 mainstream news journalists from three local publications (Robinson & DeShano 2011:966). This is in a city of around 250 000 citizens. The citizens were selected by the "snowball" method, while the journalists were selected by those who responded to an email (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967). The interviews were each an hour long, comprised of 50 questions and included follow-up questions (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967). The interviews were transcribed and then the researchers used Strauss and Corbin's (1998) analytical system to read through the interviews several times (Robinson &

DeShano 2011:967). The researchers conducted open coding, a line-by-line analysis to determine the dominant concepts, particularly pertaining to the framing values of the communities (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967). Then a meta-analysis was performed where the researchers looked for coding patterns and the consequences, and thirdly, selective coding was conducted in order to categorise the patterns that were found (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967). In particular, the concepts relating to the shared discourse of journalists and citizens were scrutinised (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967).

Just as Berkowitz and TerKeurst (1999) found, the study argued that journalists operate in “interpretive” communities which function as cultural authorities within the community in order to disseminate the news (Robinson & DeShano 2011:964). The study argued that journalists share a discourse in order to collect and disseminate this news, but with the rise of citizen journalists, a new discourse was forming (Robinson & DeShano 2011:964). While the findings of Robinson and DeShano’s research are not necessary for this research to consider, for reference, the research found that citizen journalists were not considered full members in the interpretive journalistic community, however this was also not their intention (Robinson & DeShano 2011:980). The data shows citizens form a loose collective but they are able to penetrate the journalistic community and therefore an ideological transition is needed and both groups need to grapple for a stable role for themselves (Robinson & DeShano 2011:980).

A study which also aimed to provide a greater understanding of community journalists’ decision-making processes and determine the pressures which influence their decisions such as conflicts of interest and social and economic pressures, was conducted at five weekly newspapers in north-eastern and central Kansas (Coble-Krings 2005:8). The study was an investigation into community journalism and media ethics (Coble-Krings 2005:8). It considered how community journalists distinguished their roles as community members and journalists; how editors and publishers handled the social and economic

pressures and how the social and business ties to the community affected the coverage (Coble-Krings 2005:23). The study considered that small-town journalists were confronted by community pressures from local residents and advertisers (Coble-Krings 2005:22).

The methodology employed has informed the formation of the methodology in this research as a qualitative approach was taken to conduct face-to-face, in-depth interviews in the interviewees' natural environment as well as field observations in order to collect the data (Coble-Krings 2005:23). The data was collected over a four-to-five day period and interviews were conducted with 59 interviewees in total, including 19 community journalists, two retired community journalists six advertising and clerical newspaper staff and 32 community members (Coble-Krings 2005:24). The researcher systematically gathered and analysed the data and looked for the concepts derived from the data and offered insight and an enhanced understanding of the matter (Coble-Krings 2005:24). Most of the data collected was in the narrative form (Coble-Krings 2005:24). The tapes of data were transcribed and the researcher looked for themes, using open coding (Coble-Krings 2005:29). The findings were described in a narrative form in order to bring cohesion to the study (Coble-Krings 2005:24).

The study's findings do not impact this research but establish that the community journalists did not distinguish between their roles as community journalists and community members (Coble-Krings 2005:26). There were 17 of the 19 journalists interviewed who were members of community organisations (Coble-Krings 2005:52). This finding echoes the sentiments reviewed earlier in this chapter made by Lauterer (2006) that community journalism should not be reported in an us versus them style. Further, Coble-Krings (2005) found that the community journalists did not separate themselves from community organisations and this was considered to be in conflict with journalistic codes of conduct that stipulate employees should not be involved in the communities which they serve (Coble-Krings 2005:26). The research found that subtle

advertising pressures existed at the five newspapers but there was no evidence that the newspapers had succumbed to bias (Coble-Krings 2005:71). While journalists did have a few ties to businesses beyond the newspaper, they all agreed it would be wrong to allow advertisers to gain publicity by leveraging their accounts with the newspaper (Coble-Krings 2005:72). The findings showed that the small-town newspaper journalists were able to identify with the community members, due to their involvement in the community (Coble-Krings 2005:67). However, despite the community journalists' close proximities and involvement in community life, it was found that ethical dilemmas in the community were rare (Coble-Krings 2005:72).

A recent study that explored how South African journalists define their roles also considered the influences that impact how they conceive of those definitions (Hatcher 2013:49). This is an important study for this chapter to review as it contextualises how South African journalists define their roles and what influences their news production, which this research will undertake to explore with regards to the *Fourways Review* community journalists. Another similarity between Hatcher's (2013) study and this research is the theoretical perspective that community journalists share a strong "connectedness" with their communities. The influences that Hatcher (2013) considered as having an effect on how community journalists define their roles were differences in the community journalists' connections with the communities they served, the type of media they produced and their backgrounds (Hatcher 2013:49).

The study selected a sample of 62 community journalists from 11 newspapers, five radio stations as well as universities and journalism education programmes throughout South Africa and data was collected from in-depth interviews with the sample as well as on-site observation (Hatcher 2013:52). In-depth interviews and field observation will also be used by this research to collect data, and therefore reviewing how Hatcher (2013) collected the data is important for this research. The interviews were conducted over a two-month period in 2009 and the interviews followed a guide with open-ended questions (Hatcher 2013:52). One-on-one interviews were conducted, as this research will

do, however one group discussion was also conducted (Hatcher 2013:52). The interviews were recorded and transcribed (Hatcher 2013:53).

The study provided some necessary background on the state of South African journalism which this research needs to take into account. It found that South African community journalism is confronted by a challenge to bridge the gap between disparate groups in communities and to involve everyone in a community (Hatcher 2013:51). This challenge comes from the belief that community journalism should report stories that build up a community (Hatcher 2013:50). With the finding that some groups were marginalised in communities, the question arose of how community journalism can operate effectively in such an environment (Hatcher 2013:51).

The community journalists saw the community members as a strong ethical compass that guided their news production and most of them said they tried to actively participate in the community to gather information to report (Hatcher 2013:53). However, these strong attachments to the community also posed a challenge for some community journalists who believed their interpersonal relations with community members often made them feel more accountable for the news they produced and such relations could even influence how they reported on stories (Hatcher 2013:55). Being both community members and journalists, a role also considered in Lauterer (2006) and Coble-Krings (2005) research, also influenced the respondents to try to build up the community and wanted their journalism to make a difference in the community (Hatcher 2013:55). It also helped them to understand the issues that matter to the community (Hatcher 2013:58).

All of the community journalists interviewed said they were affected by the complex cultural composition of the country and that it was a challenge to deliver news that would meet the needs of the whole community, in terms of language and information that all sectors of the community needed (Hatcher 2013:55). A big challenge in South African community journalism was finding

media that could serve marginalised groups (Hatcher 2013:56). It was found that there were various news groups that catered for people of different cultures under the premise that people of different cultures had different news preferences (Hatcher 2013:58). However some respondents opposed this approach, which led to the need for future research to consider whether one publication can satisfy the news interests of a multi-cultural group (Hatcher 2013:60). The daunting challenge of South African community challenge is therefore how to build inclusive societies and the study's respondents believed they were able to do this as their news had impact among the community and through championing the voices of ordinary citizens (Hatcher 2013:59). It was considered that future research into understanding how community members receive community media could aid in determining the effectiveness of community journalism and whether the community journalists' ideals are being met (Hatcher 2013:62). This is the aim of this research in the case of *Fourways Review*.

2.5 Community journalism's place in South Africa's media landscape

The conduct of community journalism in South Africa is characterised by structural issues of ownership, capitalisation and professionalism (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). Assessing media ownership and control allows for the transformation of South African media to be determined since the demise of apartheid in 1994 (Berger 2000). This is because it is argued that concentrated ownership does not allow for the socio-economic transformation of journalism as, for example, during apartheid, media was privately or state-owned (Berger 2000). The newspaper industry was dominated by a stronghold of four main white-established and owned groups which made it difficult for newcomers to emerge, and broadcasting was largely a state monopoly (Berger 2000). In the years since 1994, media ownership has transformed with ownership by black capitalists, unions, women's groups and development trusts (Berger 2000). The internationalisation of the South African media economy has allowed for foreign ownership of media (Berger 2000). There has also been cross-ownership

between the print and broadcast industries (Berger 2000). Media scholars argue that a pluralism of ownership diversifies the content and ensures that it is democratised (Berger 2000).

The “Big Four” corporate media houses which dominate the newspaper landscape in owning and distributing publications, are Caxton & CTP, Times Media Group, Independent Newspapers and Media24 (Daniels 2014:63). There are also independent publishers which are smaller, and they are affiliated to the Association of Independent Publishers (AIP), which was established in 2004 and by August 2013 had 250 members, creating approximately 5 000 jobs (Daniels 2014:63). As many of the titles supported by AIP are small newspapers, newsletters and magazines that are owned and controlled by community members for a community, they are considered as community journalism products (Daniels 2014:63). Such community media is defined as being owned and produced by a community where profits are reinvested into the community media (Daniels 2014:63).

Financing is one of the biggest challenges confronting community journalism, especially community journalism which is not supported by corporates (Daniels 2014:64). Public bodies such as the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) have been established to support the development of community media by providing grant funding, training and research in order to enable the development of media to include previously marginalised groups (Buckley 2011:25). The MDDA is a non-profit organisation, formed in 2003, which is governed by an independent board and is funded by contributions from government grants, mainstream media and the private sector (Buckley 2011:25). While public bodies such as MDDA meet the need for high-quality regulation that will strengthen community media, there is an argument that the funding structure can subject the media content to interference by the state (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). The willingness of the private sector to contribute to the new media landscape is believed to have developed out of a concern among businesses for how they would be treated by the African National

Congress government, and therefore they were seen to show a commitment to the new South Africa by helping to fund community projects (Banda, Beukes-Amiss, Bosch, Mano, McLean & Steenveld 2007:164). In 2014, it was found that community journalism supported by the AIP needed more knowledge of economic sustainability and financial management as well as funding from the MDDA, advertisers and government (Daniels 2014:63).

Those community media projects which are not funded by public bodies are market-oriented, ranging from semi-capitalised, by relying on advertisements, to highly capitalised, in which private sector partnerships and advertisements are sourced through a full-time sales team (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). A criticism of the market-oriented approach to community journalism is that media production may be influenced by commercialisation pressures (Hyde-Clarke 2010:132). Caxton & CTP's publication, *Fourways Review* is funded by the sale of advertisements and is not funded by public bodies. In fact, Caxton & CTP lends funding support to the MDDA (Media Development and Diversity Agency 2013).

In terms of the transformation of professionalism in the media landscape, studies have found that media businesses have shown a willingness to demonstrate commitment to the new South Africa by developing skills and training black journalists (Banda et al 2007:164).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter was structured around reviewing the existing literature on each of the three sub-problems of this research and described the theoretical insights, methodologies and findings of previous studies which relate to this research. The literature review showed the progression of community journalism studies from the development of the coining of the term community journalism in the 1950s (Reader 2012:5). These initial studies considered the close relationship between a community and its community newspaper, with a focus on determining how the community members respond to their community

newspaper (Janowitz 1951:520). While this research is dated, it is still considered a key study in understanding the relationship between the content and function of a community newspaper and its readers (Reader 2012:27). The chapter described how these studies progressed in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s to consider what makes community members read the local press, in a body of work termed communities ties research (Stamm 1988:357). These studies aimed to determine the social factors that influence community members to participate in the community and that stimulate their attachment to the community (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:330). Research into what influences community members to be attached to a community continued in recent years (Brehm 2007; Savage 2008), and progressed to consider how community members' attachment to a community influences their use of local news (Demers 1996; Hoffman & Eveland 2010). The review of these studies creates the framework for the second sub-problem which aims to explore how the community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community.

The chapter is limited in the section that reviews the previous studies on what community members expect from local news, which relates to the first sub-problem in this research. Other researchers have also found that studies on readers' expectations are limited and those that were reviewed were mainly found in the United States. While this limits the scope of literature reviewed on this topic, it does show that more research on this topic is needed. Previous studies on this topic have indicated that exploring what community members expect from local news is necessary in identifying key issues that would increase the public's interest in local news (Heider et al 2005:955). It was found that community members did not value the same roles and characteristics of local news that journalists' valued, for example, the community members preferred news to provide solutions for them and report with an understanding of the community rather than the watchdog and objective reporting tactics which journalists valued (Heider et al 2005:963).

As community journalism research is built on the premise that the success of a community newspaper depends on its close proximity to the community that it serves, which creates a theoretical anchor for these studies (Reader 2012:5), this chapter reviewed the literature on the relationship between community journalists and the community they serve. It emerged that community journalists function in interpretive communities in which certain pressures can influence their news production (Berkowitz & TerKeurst 1999:127; Lauterer 2006:262). This led to a review the literature on how community journalists define their roles (Donohue et al 1995; Hanusch 2008) and what pressures influenced how they produced news (Edson et al 2013; Robinson & DeShano 2011; Coble-Krings 2005). This section was concluded with the review of a recent study into how South African community journalists define their roles and what impacts their role production. This study provided insights into the South African community journalism landscape which showed there is a need for community journalism to not only build social networks within communities but to also produce news that will help to link different sectors of communities, such as affluent and marginalised groups (Hatcher 2013). This study also suggested that there is a need to not only consider how community journalists define their roles but also to understand what information residents seek from local news (Hatcher 2013:62). This is what this research sets out to explore.

The review of the literature in this chapter has described previous studies and establishes theoretical frameworks which relate to the three sub-problems that this research sets out to explore. It has found that the exploration of the sub-problems will contribute to areas of research which previous studies have suggested that further research is needed. The chapter also established community journalism's place in the South African media landscape and reviewed literature attending upon some challenges confronting community journalism in the transformed media landscape in post-apartheid South Africa, for example funding. The next chapter will describe the methodology that will be used in order to collect, analyse and interpret the findings to explore the three sub-problems of this research.

3 CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research is a systematic process to intentionally enhance the understanding of a problem, and is conducted through collecting, analysing and interpreting data (Leedy & Ormrod 2010:2). As described in the first chapter, the exploration of the research problem is structured around three sub-problems. The three sub-problems, with a general description of how the data will be collected and analysed, were established in the first chapter and are described again here.

- The first sub-problem intends to explore to what extent *Fourways Review* fulfils the community's expectations of a community newspaper by conducting interviews with 30 community members during October 2015 and using a constant comparative technique to analyse the transcripts.
- The objective of the second sub-problem is to explore how community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community by collecting data through face-to-face interviews with the same 30 community members for the first sub-problem during October 2015 and conducting a constant comparative technique to analyse the transcripts.
- For the third sub-problem, this research will explore is how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence their role enactments by conducting face-to-face interviews with the journalists during October 2015 as well as conducting field observation in the newsroom during September 2015 and the data will be analysed using a constant comparative technique.

This third chapter will establish the research design to describe the methods which will be employed to collect and interpret the data (Leedy & Ormrod 2010:6) in order to explore the three sub-problems in turn. This includes describing the unit of analyses, samples, target populations and methods which

this research will employ. The chapter will also indicate how the research will be conducted in order to ensure that it is reliable and valid.

3.2 Research design

In a research design, a complex issue is broken down in order to manage the research in a limited timeframe, with limited resources and to define the relevant issues of the research (Flick 2007:44). The objective of this research is to use methods which will generate empirical observations in an attempt to solve the research problem (Gaber 2010:35). The research will take the form of applied research as the results will be immediately applicable to *Fourways Review*, its community members and community journalists (Stanovich 2007:106).

The research will use a solely qualitative approach to collect and analyse the data. This approach will use inductive methods, such that the relevant data will be collected, grouped into meaningful categories and explained (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:159). The methodology section later in this chapter describes the methods that will be used to collect and analyse the data.

3.3 Samples

3.3.1 Sample for sub-problems one and two

As described in the outline of the sub-problems, the same sample of 30 community members who live or work within *Fourways Review*'s distribution area will be interviewed to explore the first and second sub-problems. These sub-problems aim to explore the extent to which *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations; and explore how the community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community.

The target population for these two sub-problems is the community members who live or work within the distribution area of *Fourways Review* and therefore

receive the newspaper on a weekly basis. Therefore, the research will select a sample of community members based on this criteria, an approach known as non-probability sampling (Morgan 2008:798). A snowball method will be used to select the sample, and this method was chosen after reviewing the study which aimed to determine the news values of the information-producing community in Wisconsin, United States of America (Robinson & DeShano 2011:966). As described in the second chapter of this research, the study selected the sample of citizen journalists using a snowball method, in which the respondents were selected from word of mouth, by responding to queries by the researchers and after being cited in local publications (Robinson & DeShano 2011:966). It is determined that the snowball method would be an appropriate method to select community members who receive *Fourways Review* to contribute to this section of the research.

Just as in Robinson and DeShano's (2011) study, this research will also select a sample of respondents through word of mouth. As stated in the first chapter of this research, a preliminary questionnaire was conducted with 10 community members in the *Fourways Review* distribution area during 2013 in order to establish the extent to which the research problem is a problem. A preliminary interview was also conducted with a *Fourways Review* staff member during participant observation in the newsroom. The *Fourways Review* staff member and the respondents of the preliminary questionnaire were asked to suggest the names and contact details of community members within the *Fourways Review* distribution area who could form part of the sample of community members to be interviewed for the research. This sample selection forms the first stage of snowball sampling, where initial informants nominate participants who are eligible to participate in the study (Morgan 2008:815). A diverse use of initial informants was used in order to counter any risk of bias, which the snowball sampling technique could be subjected to if diverse informants are not used (Morgan 2008:816).

A limited time-frame to collect data during the month of October 2015 has bound the research to limit the number of respondents. In order to decide on an appropriate number of respondents to interview that will enable the research to collect adequate data to answer the sub-problems, a number of community journalism studies were reviewed. These studies had similar and comparably sized distribution areas or population sizes as that of the *Fourways Review* distribution area and aimed to research similar research problems using similar qualitative approaches. These studies were reviewed in chapter two. As previously indicated, *Fourways Review* is distributed to 37 150 doorsteps in the community. Robinson and DeShano's (2011) study selected a sample of 38 citizen journalists in Madison, Wisconsin which has a population of 250 000 in the city. Hatcher (2013) selected a sample of 62 community journalists throughout South Africa, conducting face-to-face interviews and participant observation in the newsrooms. Coble-Krings (2005) interviewed 32 community members, 19 journalists, two retired journalists and six advertisers in her study at five community newspapers. The qualitative research by Brehm (2007) selected a sample of 28 community members from five communities, although the size of the population was not disclosed. These studies informed this research to select a sample of 30 community members who receive *Fourways Review*, and determine that this would be an appropriately-sized sample that would reveal enough information to answer the research problem.

3.3.2 Sample for sub-problem three

The third sub-problem which this research will explore is how the *Fourways Review* community journalists define their roles in the community and consider what pressures influence how they enact their roles. In order to describe how the sample of *Fourways Review* staff members was selected, this research will outline the composition of the newsroom.

Fourways Review is part of a newsroom which produces seven community newspapers. Journalists are employed to work on one specific newspaper each,

however, the editors and sub-editors work on a few of the publications. There are also four layout artists who design all seven of the community newspapers. This research will not focus on the structure of the whole newsroom but rather only the structure of the news team who produce and edit the content for *Fourways Review*, as these are the only staff members who are applicable to this research. An organogram of the *Fourways Review* news team can be seen in Figure 3.1.

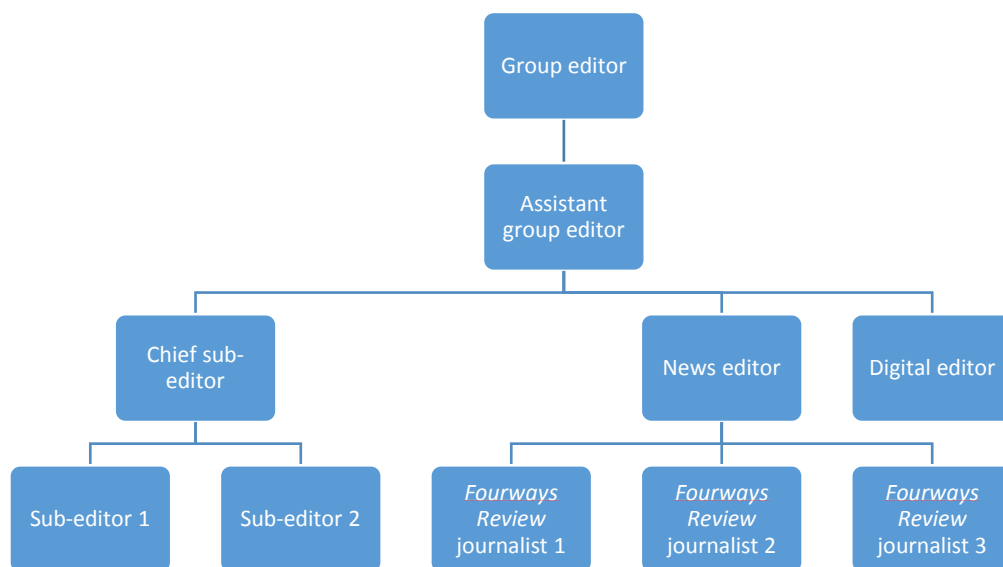


Figure 3.1: Organogram of the *Fourways Review* news team

The organogram shows that the *Fourways Review* news team is comprised of a group editor, an assistant group editor, a news editor³, a digital editor, three journalists, two sub editors and a chief sub-editor. For the purpose of exploring this sub-problem, the three journalists; two sub-editors; chief sub-editor; group editor and digital editor will be asked to participate in the research. This sample is therefore a convenience sample which is easy to obtain due to their geographic distribution (Battaglia 2008:149).

³ The researcher is the news editor of *Fourways Review* and the assistant group editor in the newsroom, and therefore will not be interviewed but will rather perform field observation in the newsroom. Therefore eight members of the *Fourways Review* news team will be asked to participate in the research.

3.4 Methods to collect and analyse the data for the three sub-problems

The data for sub-problems one, two and three will be collected through interviews and field observation. Three interview schedules with sets of questions for both samples of respondents to answer for sub-problems one, two and three are drawn up and can be seen in this research as Appendices B, C and D respectively. The field observation will be conducted in the *Fourways Review* newsroom, and while it mainly aims to observe the sample of the *Fourways Review* news team as they produce and edit stories for the community newspaper, it will also observe any of the interactions which the journalists' have with the community members who phone or visit the newsroom. The techniques that will be used to collect and analyse the data will be described in more detail.

3.4.1 Interview technique to collect data

This research will employ in-depth, face-to-face interviews with the sample of *Fourways Review* community members and staff members in the realistic settings that the community newspaper is consumed and produced by the two respective samples (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:192). Such a method will allow for data to be collected from a variety of people and expenses can be controlled (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:192).

The interviews will be scheduled for a minimum of one hour, with the possibility of follow-up interviews with respondents if they are required (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:142). They will be conducted one-on-one and face-to-face in order to question the respondent in depth and detail (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:214). This method will also allow the interviewer to observe some information during the interviews, develop a relationship with the respondents and help them to answer sensitive questions or elaborate where necessary (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:214). The interviews will be semi-structured: they

will be structured in that they will follow the guideline of questions as set in the interview schedule, but will allow for follow-up questions where necessary and allow for a natural conversational flow during the interviews (Sapsford & Jupp 2006:100). However, this research has taken caution to word questions carefully in order to ensure that there is no inappropriate or leading wording that could influence the respondents to answer questions in a certain way and thereby impact the results with bias (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:193). The research must ensure that the same caution is taken when asking follow-up questions or conversation. The questions will be open-ended so that they allow the respondents to answer with their opinions instead of answering with the pre-determined categories that the researcher devised (Sapsford & Jupp 2006:101).

The verbal responses of the data will be recorded with an audio recorder and will then be transcribed.

3.4.2 Method to analyse the data collected from interviews

The transcribed data from interviews will be analysed using a constant comparative technique. This technique groups data into meaningful categories by making constant comparisons and then applies theories to the explanations that emerge from the data in order to obtain a theory that is grounded in data (Kolb 2012:83). The constant comparative technique is also known as grounded theory and consists of a four-step process. First, the units of analysis in the collected data will be assigned provisional categories using a comparative technique (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:123). In this phase, the data is scrutinised and conceptualised to form an understanding of what is expressed in the raw data (Corbin & Strauss 2008:160). The units of analysis for sub-problems one, two and three are the individual assertions that emerge from the interviews and these will be grouped under category headings which are derived from the interviews. Each unit of analysis in the data will be examined to determine whether it is relevant to a particular category by comparing it with the other units of analyses that were assigned to that category (Wimmer & Dominick

2014:123). Some categories may have a large number of units of analysis assigned to them, while others may have only a few, and some units of analyses may be able to fit into more than one category, and these should be included under all of the relevant categories (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:124). The aim of this process is to compare the units and find similarities among those units under the same categories (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:124). This will be conducted shortly after the interview data are transcribed and the objective of this method is to reduce the data so that it is manageable and so that the important categories that emerge during the interviews are identified (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:122). It is important that the research reaches theoretical saturation, which is the point when there are no new categories emerge from the transcribed interviews (Ridolfo & Schoua-Glusberg 2011:435). The categories will then be elaborated and refined by describing the underlying meaning of the category definitions in order to start exploring the theories that emerge from the system of categories (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:124). By fleshing out the properties of the categories and explaining how they differ, statements of what is understood about each category will be composed (Benaquisto 2008:52).

The third step in the constant comparative technique of data analysis which this research will undertake is to search for meaningful connections that emerge from the units of analysis across the categories (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:124). Linking the categories in this way is essential in order to develop a story from the data (Benaquisto 2008:805).

Lastly, a report that summarises the results of the analysis into an explanation, which includes details and explanations of the data collected, will be compiled (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:124). This final phase of integrating the categories into an explanation also aids in building theory by constructing an argument of how the categories link together (Strauss & Corbin 2008:274). Quotes and descriptions of what the respondents said will also be used in order to provide in-depth insight (Coble-Krings 2005:25).

3.4.3 Field observation to collect data in the Fourways Review newsroom

Field observation will be conducted during a one-week period in the *Fourways Review* newsroom during September 2015 in an attempt to observe how the journalists produce news and how they respond to the phone calls or visits from the community members. The field observation will take place via a means of participant observation, whereby observations will be made while participating in the newsroom and the individuals who are being observed know that they are under observation (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:128). This method will help to gain first-hand knowledge and collect data as it unfolds (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper 2007:139). The research is aware of the criticism that preconceptions could inflict bias on the results of participant observation (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:130). However, it is believed that by collecting data through interviews and participant observation, the *Fourways Review* staff members' verbal assertions can be verified with their behaviour in the newsroom and in producing news (Tharenou et al 2007:136). It is hoped that the data collected through participant observation will provide detailed descriptions of the *Fourways Review* staff members' behaviours (Tharenou et al 2007:140). The participant observation will be unstructured in order to observe and record the events as they happen instead of using pre-determined categories (Tharenou et al 2007:136). Observations will be recorded by writing field notes to record what happens and what is said, which will be corresponded with personal impressions or interpretations (Tharenou et al 2007:136). This will be done by separating the descriptive narrative and the personal impressions. The existing documents produced by the community journalists and community members in the newsroom will also be considered, such as social media messages, phone call messages, letters to the editor, memos and emails.

3.4.4 Method to analyse the data collected from field observation

The constant comparative technique will also be used to analyse the data collected from participant observation. First, the collected observations will be arranged under various file headings (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:134). These categories will be determined from the data to help organise the data so that it is easily accessible to analyse (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:134). The categories will be elaborated, refined and then analysed to determine relationships or consistent patterns between the categories which will then be related to the theoretical perspectives and findings of previous studies (Tharenou et al 2007:136). The interpretation of the collected data will then be constructed into a theoretical structure to describe the findings (Tharenou et al 2007).

3.4.5 Compiling the findings

The research will then compile the findings from the data collected and analysed from both the interview method and participant observation into a narrative (Robinson & DeShano 2011:967). This narrative is set out in the next chapter. The exploration of the findings will identify and link the relationships between the variables (Tharenou et al 2007:139), and the findings will be interpreted by exploring the results of previous, similar studies and theoretical perspectives.

3.5 Approaches to ensure the reliability and validity of the data collection and analysis methods

This research will be cautious of several common concerns in qualitative research that may affect the credibility of the research. The first concern is that the data may be incomplete (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:125). Field observation is not considered as an adequate method to use alone, and therefore the use of interviews as well as field observation should build useful data that is key to an ethnographic understanding (Cohen 2000:329). This research will ensure that

the transcription of interviews is as accurate as possible so that the interpretations from the data are a true reflection of the collected data (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:125). An open-minded approach to the research will be taken so that some data is not unnecessarily dismissed; and further, the research states upfront that it is aware that the act of observing the newsroom may alter the situation and events, but will try to minimise the reactivity and be aware of when it may affect the results (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:126). The research must strive to be objective during the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data, however it is believed that the influence of emotional attachment will not render the work invalid (Cohen 2000:329). Leaving the scene of participant observation must be handled with diplomacy and tact as exiting a setting can be difficult (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:135). In this research, the participants will be aware that they are under observation and it will be stated up front that they will be observed for one week only in order to minimise any possible problems (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:135).

Further, the research aims to ensure the quality and reliability of the findings by applying the methods with rigour, but also in ensuring that the design of this qualitative approach to collecting and analysing the data is enacted appropriately in this research (Flick 2007:62). The findings from the data should also be critically assessed during the analysis phase, and reliability would be increased by re-checking the manuscripts (Flick 2007:103). With regards to the research's use of field observation, the longer an observer is in a particular field, the less those that are being observed would alter their behaviour (Tharenou et al 2007:142). It is believed that conducting participant observation for more than one week in the *Fourways Review* newsroom could enhance the reliability of the findings in this research, however, the research is limited by a time-frame. The research also takes into consideration that the newsroom will change overtime, as will the social relationships between those in the newsroom (Cohen 2000:329). The potential threats to the reliability of field observation should be considered in the research in order to enhance future field observation research (Cohen 2000:329). The research will employ two factors

to help build credibility: the use of multiple methods, such as this research will employ field observation and interviews; and an audit trail, which will help others to examine each step of the data collection and analysis process (Wimmer & Dominick 2014:126).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out the qualitative approaches that will be employed in order to collect, analyse and interpret the data to answer the three sub-problems which this research aims to explore. It was found that two samples will be drawn, with the first sample of community members who live or work within the *Fourways Review* distribution area being selected via a snowball method. This sample will comprise of 30 community members in order to explore the first and second sub-problems. The number of respondents for this sample was determined by reviewing studies with similar undertakings to this study and similar distribution sizes. The eight *Fourways Review* staff members who will be interviewed and observed in the newsroom are selected as a convenience sample.

Face-to-face, in-depth and semi-structured interviews will be conducted with all 38 respondents and further, participant observation will also be conducted in the newsroom in order to record observations on the *Fourways Review* staff members' conduct and interactions. Using the two data collection techniques should help to create a reliable study. The research will employ a constant comparative technique to analyse the data collected from the interviews and participant observation. The interpretation of the data collected from both the interviews and participant observation will then be explored and described in a narrative which will reveal the findings of the concepts, the relationships between the concepts and how they relate to theoretical perspectives and findings of previous studies.

The research found that there are common concerns associated with the research methods which this research will use, and outlined how this research

will take caution to ensure the credibility and reliability of the findings. It is thought that by employing two different methods to collect data and auditing the findings will aid the credibility and reliability of the research.

The next chapter will explore the interpretations of the research findings.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four describes the findings of the exploration of the three sub-problems posed by this research.

- The first sub-problem sets out to explore the extent to which *Fourways Review* fulfils the community's expectations of a community newspaper.
- The second sub-problem explores how community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community.
- The third sub-problem that this research explores is how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence their role enactments.

The data was collected and analysed using the methodology as described in the previous chapter. For the first and second sub-problems, face-to-face, individual interviews were conducted during October 2015 with 30 community members who were selected via snowball sampling. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions of the responses to questions for the first and second sub-problems can be seen in Appendix E and F respectively. A further eight interviews were conducted with a convenient sample of the *Fourways Review* news team members in order to collect data for sub-problem three. The transcriptions of these interviews can be found in Appendix G. Participant observation was also conducted in the *Fourways Review* newsroom for five consecutive days during September 2015 where field notes and personal impressions were recorded, and can be seen in Appendix H. The transcribed interviews and participant observation field notes were analysed using the constant comparative technique as described in chapter three to categorise the data, refine the categories and find the relationships among the themes (Wimmer & Dominick 2012:123). In this chapter, the findings from both the interviews and participant observation will be integrated into a

theoretical exploration that is structured around the findings to each of the three sub-problems in turn, and, where relevant, it draws attention to similarities across the findings for each of the sub-problems.

4.2 Findings of the first sub-problem

The first sub-problem explores to what extent *Fourways Review* fulfils the community's expectations of a community newspaper

4.2.1 *Fourways Review is accepted in the community*

All 30 respondents for sub-problem one read the community newspaper, with 29 of the respondents reading the paper every week. The length of time which the respondents spend reading the newspaper varies from a skim-read of two-to-three minutes to one respondent who spends three hours reading the newspaper. The general consensus among the respondents is however that they accept *Fourways Review* as a quick read, where the majority of the respondents said they browsed each page from the front to the back, scanning headlines and reading the stories that interest them.

I think this paper has got acceptability, that people know it's going to arrive and that it is a pain but they actually accept it, so it is an acceptable brand (Respondent 30).

It's a history thing. I've been in the area for 16 years now, and all the time it's become part and parcel of the area information, so it's been a historical thing from day one (Respondent 23).

The respondents' acceptance of *Fourways Review* implies there is a connection between the respondents and the publication, and Reader (2012) believed such "connectedness" was the key theoretical anchor of community journalism as the success of a community journalism publication depends on how connected it is to its community (Reader 2012:5). During participant observation in the newsroom, it was found that the community members are not afraid to tell the publication when it has made a mistake, for example in the incident when the

first line of a story on the *Fourways Review* website said, “A tree crashed into a tree”, rather than that “A car crashed into a tree”. The community members commented on the mistake on the *Fourways Review* social media pages, however, they also made jokes about how a tree could crash into a tree. The documentation of these comments is presented in Appendix H. The community members’ did not seem to take the mistake seriously and this research attributes this to the finding that the publication is accepted in the community. However, the publication should warn against making mistakes so as to retain credibility and acceptance. Previous research has further established that readers have more regard for their local newspaper than for newspapers in general (Reader 2012:6). This was not entirely the case in this research, as for 24 of the respondents, *Fourways Review* is an additional news source to their in-take of provincial and national news, but for six respondents, *Fourways Review* is the only publication that they accessed for news. Three of the six respondents do supplement their knowledge of local news with interactions through social media chat groups. Such responses re-enforce findings of previous studies, that community newspapers are consumed as an auxiliary to provincial, national or international news (Janowitz 1951:521).

Further to showing acceptance of *Fourways Review* of a news provider in the community, of the 30 respondents interviewed, 21 confirmed a strong identification with *Fourways Review* as being “their” newspaper. There were 29 respondents said that they wait for the newspaper to arrive or actively look for the newspaper and associated Wednesday as the newspaper’s distribution day.

You know you look forward to that Wednesday of catch-up. It’s [a] part of your Wednesday. I know that on a Wednesday the paper comes. Like this week, I didn’t get the paper on Wednesday, it came late so yesterday I was reading it and my husband said to me, “What’s today?” and I said, “It’s Thursday” and he said, “Well, why are you reading it today?” and I said, “Because I didn’t get it yesterday.” He also associates the *Fourways Review* with Wednesday, so it’s a thing (Respondent 28).

The appearance of the community newspaper in the community is celebrated as part of the importance of community newspapers (Reader 2012:7). In some

of the suburbs, the newspaper is not always delivered, as Respondent 20 says, “deliveries are erratic”, especially in the agricultural holdings where the properties are spaced out, the newspapers are not distributed to each household but rather left at a central point or at a nearby shopping centre. Four respondents interviewed live in such areas. Respondents 1, 2 and 20 actively go and find the newspaper on a weekly basis, while Respondent 14 reads the local news on the *Fourways Review* website but emphasises that she believes it is important for the community newspaper to be delivered to each doorstep.

A copy should be thrown into every property in the valley, and I do think that that is important, because it doesn't happen, the only bits that I like to read are the ones that I read online (Respondent 14).

The importance of the community members having access to the community newspaper stems from the inherent responsibility of a community newspaper to gather and report on stories of interest to its readership, including challenges confronting readers (Steiner 2012:21). This research will explore the reasons why the respondents think it is “important” for the community newspaper to be delivered to residents and to what extent *Fourways Review* is fulfilling their expectations of this role. It will also explore to what extent the community newspaper is connected to the community.

4.2.2 Respondents view Fourways Review's role as raising awareness

The general consensus among the 30 respondents is that *Fourways Review* fulfils a role of raising awareness in the community and was successful as it is accepted by the community.

I know from contributing, letting people know that we are giving people a service to the community has resulted in so many more people coming [to the Bryanston Library] but without remarking on it. So it works, it does works (Respondent 2).

That the respondents accept *Fourways Review* as a provider of local news and to raise awareness of news and events in the community shows that the

community newspaper is perceived as an extension of the respondents' personal social contracts and provider of local news that is of social and personal importance (Janowitz 1951:525). This supports the age-old characteristic of local news' symbolic effect of keeping people informed of changes and events in the community (Janowitz 1951:523). While Janowitz's study is dated, his findings are seen to still be relevant in community journalism studies today, and were found to be relevant to the responses reaped in this research.

4.2.3 Respondents read Fourways Review for local feel-good and crime news

As *Fourways Review* gathers, packages and distributes news for the Fourways area, the respondents all said they read the newspaper for information on community life, which is also how Reader (2012) defined the concept of community journalism. This demonstrated that *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the basic role of a community newspaper. The respondents said they read *Fourways Review* to seek information on what is happening in the Fourways area, to find out what other community members are doing and to relate to other community members. Respondents 5 and 24 used the paper to build contacts for their business networks. Respondent 11 added that the community newspaper helped "to find out how the community is feeling and to share that commonality and commitment to the area".

Because it's the only reliable news of what's happening where we live. This newspaper here called *The Star*, there's not a single article in here about Fourways, Midrand or anything (Respondent 3).

The responses reinforce a long-standing perception of community newspapers that they are consumed for their details on the local community (Janowitz 1951:521). The respondents recognised *Fourways Review* for providing two types of news stories in the community, namely feel-good stories and crime news.

It highlights both good and bad, and I think the good is just as important as the bad, if not, more important (Respondent 22).

This shows *Fourways Review* is fulfilling an age-old characteristic of community journalism, the “friendly-neighbour relationship” a community journalism publication has with its readers (Reader 2012: 5). A close, connected relationship between a community journalism publication and the community it serves is believed to be what sets community journalism apart from mainstream journalism (Reader 2012:5). The friendly-neighbour perspective of reporting is characterised by showing care for the community, an understanding of community problems and can offer solutions to such problems (Poindexter et al 2006:78). It also reports on interesting people and groups (Poindexter et al 2006:78). In assuming this role, the community press thereby supports the community’s achievements and warns of problems.

That’s why it’s nice to have a community newspaper because you know that they’re going to support that [school pupils achievements], whereas other newspapers they’re not going to, so I think it plays a really important role for children and their sport and their school (Respondent 7).

The extent to which *Fourways Review* fulfils the role of a friendly neighbour will be explored further, but it is evident that the community acknowledges the newspaper as a source for its reports on the good news as well as possible threats to security in terms of crime content. Many of the respondents knew from memory that they could find the crime page on the second page of the newspaper.

Obviously I read the crime so that we can be up-to-date with our security tactics, to know which gangs are operating and where. And what the modus operandi is. We often use the information in there [*Fourways Review*] to tell our residents to look out (Respondent 17).

However, two criticisms emerged of the newspaper’s crime reporting. Firstly, some residents said it was off-putting to have crime news on the second page of the newspaper and Respondent 3 suggested moving the crime page further

to the back of the newspaper. Another criticism was that some respondents believed *Fourways Review* did not always accurately represent the crime that was taking place in its distribution area. Respondent 24 believed the newspaper was often slow at reporting on crime trends and Respondent 1 said the newspaper focused too much on the crime stories which took place in the jurisdiction of one of the police stations in its distribution area and often neglected to report on crime affecting his area.

While the respondents' supported the "overview" of feel-good and crime stories provided in *Fourways Review*, the success of a community newspaper as a local institution depends on how intimately it covers the community's news and the key characteristics of community journalism, such as focusing on community routines and social rituals, account for the newspaper's readership (Rosenberry 2012: 28). While the respondents accepted and identified with *Fourways Review* in providing their local news, many of the respondents complained that *Fourways Review* did not cover the community's news as intimately as they believed it should.

4.2.4 Fourways Review neglects to report on some community news

All 30 respondents interviewed criticised *Fourways Review* for not reporting on certain information which they believed was important while a few respondents were highly critical that more was happening in the community than the news that was reported by *Fourways Review*.

I think the local papers currently are not reflective of our current community (Respondent 13).

I don't know how big the staff is for reporting but I am sure there is a lot more that is going on than what is in the paper (Respondent 27).

So, both the general and the critical comment from myself, I think it misses the mark hugely as a community paper. ... I have a comparison to this which is in the stable, which is the *Highway Mail*, as I knew it when I was a youngster growing up and the *Highway Mail* for a young guy growing up in Pinetown who used to play sport all over the place, so I am

looking at it through my eyes, what it did for us youngsters, the reporters were out everywhere on every sports field, there were photographs, I mean, we would run out to get this thing as youngsters because our name was in there. And each one of the sporting clubs and each one that was happening there, the reporters were there. This [*Fourways Review*] doesn't do it. I wouldn't know why, every now and then you get a photograph of Crawford [School] kids, which I think is getting closer to the mark, but it's not done on a regular basis of any kind. It's a weekly, so there's no weekly regularity. So, as an owner, I would say to the reporters that this is lazy reporting. In fact I've made that comment before that it's absolutely lazy (Respondent 30).

The respondents' concerns raise an issue that *Fourways Review* is not adequately fulfilling a key role of community journalism, to serve the community with local news and information about community life (Reader 2012:6). As described above, the key to a community newspaper's success depends on how connected it is to the community it reports on in order to understand the community issues and happenings in a community (Reader 2012:5). It is a notion that Byerly (1961) termed as a "nearness to people" and has become a theoretical anchor in community journalism studies (Reader 2012: 6). While acknowledging that a community newspaper could have other short-comings, the role of being "frankly and relentlessly of the people" is considered the redeeming quality of community newspapers (Killenberg 2012: 83). It was the "blue-collar, common-man orientation of newspapers" that sensitised the community journalists to report on the reality of the community and what mattered to community members (Killenberg 2012: 83). The respondents' criticisms indicate that some of the respondents in this research believe that *Fourways Review* is falling short of the age-old community newspaper role of being "frankly and relentlessly of the people".

The respondents pointed to four main areas where they believed *Fourways Review* fell short of reporting on content. Firstly, many of the respondents believe that *Fourways Review* did not report on enough events happening in the community. Among the respondents' wants were a diary section, a listing of what was showing at the cinema, restaurant reviews and competitions for a chance to win prizes.

I think maybe more events you guys could add a bit more, what's happening in the area, you know because that is nice, and also like what's happening when the kids are on school holidays (Respondent 9).

Secondly, a few respondents wanted the schools section to be built up, and as Respondent 1 said, not only with information on what was happening at private schools but at schools in the township too. Even those community members who said that their children were already adults and they were not part of schools, like Respondent 18, still saw the importance of the community newspaper giving voice to the schools in the distribution area. The main reason Respondents 7, 15 and 20 read the newspaper was to see the school news.

Maybe there could be a little more about local schools, you know, what the kids are achieving (Respondent 18).

Thirdly, some raised the issue that the community newspaper did not inform the community enough about city council services and issues and believed issues on service delivery, development and policing affecting the community should be briefly outlined each week.

I think that there's a lot more possibilities of stories. The landscape is changing quite fast so you'd find that issues to do with CPF [Community Policing Forum] and local police or JRA [Johannesburg Roads Agency] and traffic reporting and those kind of things, I am certainly knowledgeable a lot more important things happening than what I am seeing in the *Fourways Review* so I am not getting the impression that they are on top of every issue. ... It doesn't necessarily need to be a full story. It could be a three line story of deadlines for certain events, calendar for certain things happening, milestones of certain things being reached, the building of certain things such as the water reservoir (Respondent 25).

The fourth criticism raised by a number of respondents was that the newspaper would report on many events and activities but not include the contact details for the community to access that person or place. Many respondents said they thought emergency numbers were critical to be published weekly, but this was not the case. These respondents had said that they cut out the contacts when

they did appear and stuck them to their fridges. Respondent 3 suggested that the paper should get a company to sponsor the directory so that it could appear weekly as a useful tool for readers.

I do think that now and then it would be nice if in one place where you could see what all the contact numbers are for what. ... At a meeting Annette Deppe knew who to call to do what. She knew that information and none of us knew that information. So, I think that community newspapers play a big role there to say, if you've got this kind of a problem, this is the contact, and this is the ward councillor's contact details. And, just dedicate the same place each time periodically, and I think that would certainly go a long way in helping the community (Respondent 7).

A few respondents believed *Fourways Review* could extend its range of content.

I think to a discerning reader there is about a 50 to 60 percent range of content but I think it could include more in certain areas. Number one, I think it could have higher coverage on the environment, number two I think it could have higher coverage on legal changes and how they affect the community and number three, I think the whole area of animals, such as pets for adoption and animal organisations could have a lot more coverage (Respondent 11).

Respondent 26 agreed that the coverage of animals was an inspiring read, but in contrast to Respondent 11's request for more coverage on animal adoptions, Respondents 1, 19, 22 and 23 believed that the pet adoptions were overexposed and that they often skipped reading those pages. However, Respondent 11's second point that *Fourways Review* could cover legal changes and how they affect the community alludes to the need for *Fourways Review* to not only report on issues affecting the community but that they could explain what certain events and happenings in the community mean for community life. As Respondent 6 pointed out, the newspaper needed to explain not only jargon but basic community issues too.

I think, like, they will often have a ward councillor's name but it doesn't tell you which ward they are in or which area they are in, so often they

report on this ward councillor said this and he is Ward 9, but it doesn't say that that is for this, and this, and this area (Respondent 6).

The respondents' criticisms show *Fourways Review* is falling short of a characteristic of local news, to provide readers with the information and explanations of issues which they need to know in the local community shows (Heider et al 2005:956). While it is apparent that some respondents criticised the newspaper for not fulfilling this characteristic, the research also found that it was not expected by all respondents. Respondent 10 believed the reporting was "basic" but said that she didn't look to the local newspaper to provide her with "high-end reporting". However, considering all of the respondents read *Fourways Review* to find out what is happening in their communities, it would seem *Fourways Review* could provide more information and explain what certain news trends meant for the readers (Heider et al 2005:956). Respondent 14 suggested the community newspaper had a "responsibility" to at least give readers a means to access more information.

No, our local rags are local rags. Totally local rags. I think the opportunity to expand a view, to expand a position, to have a look at what happens elsewhere are not taken, they are not taken advantage of. These are the facts, this is what "Gogo" down the road thinks of it and this is what the policeman said and this is what the shop owner has to say about it and we are sort of very insular in our little [community], and it's a problem when it gets into the wider space. ... I think that being quite so insular and isolated is not good. You need to have a broader view, a wider view and know a broader view of your space in the world. ... We are not big brother, we are not George Orwell, we don't have the right to control other people's thinking. It is our responsibility to expand people's thinking so they can have their own opinion and not be herded like sheep down a corridor. ... [By] contextualising it, or say go to this website, give them an option (Respondent 14).

It has been found that a community newspaper should maintain a balance between community members' identification with local news and news in the wider city (Edelstein & Larsen 1960:498). It would not be unusual for a community newspaper to provide a "sociological index" for community members to use in order to understand community organisations and orientations (Janowitz 1951:520). Community newspapers which fulfil this function, serve to

integrate individual community members into the social structure of the community by informing them of local practices while orienting them with non-local practices (Janowitz 1951:520). Further, Respondent 28 believed such tactics would also help to make the news in the weekly publication relevant.

I think there could be more relevance but it's difficult with the timing. You know, we already know about the news by Sunday and it's only going into the paper then (Respondent 28).

This is despite the newspaper having a website.

4.2.5 Respondents have a loyalty to the newspaper despite the website

From participant observation in the newsroom it was found the *Fourways Review* team is focused on keeping up-to-date with community news as it happens on its website, which is updated every hour from 7.30am to 4.30pm. Breaking news is reported as it happens, and, as the participant observation in the newsroom revealed, much emphasis is placed on the team breaking the news as it happens in an attempt to inform readers of the latest news before other media publications. However, the respondents in this research all preferred to use the hard copy of the newspaper to access their news. Even Respondent 14 who often accessed the local news from the website due to delivery problems said she would prefer to read the hard copy than the “snippets” she reads online.

Despite the newspaper's adaption to provide its readers with news on its website and is committed to trying to break news first, participant observation in the newsroom also revealed that the *Fourways Review* team is committed to also producing the hard copy of the newspaper every week. It was seen that the newsroom has a quality control process to produce the newspaper each week. There is a drive in each edition of the newspaper for readers to access the website for more news and it was found that at least one story on each page of the newspaper is required to have a “filler” which poses a question for readers

to answer by logging onto the website or the *Fourways Review* social media pages. However, interviews with the community members revealed that there were 17 of the 30 respondents interviewed who use the website version of *Fourways Review*, and in many cases this was from clicking through from links that were posted on Facebook instead of logging onto the website itself. Out of the 17 respondents who use the website, only two of the participants believe it is beneficial for the newspaper to indicate that more information or photographs, as well as a chance to comment on the stories, could be accessed on the website. Only one of the 30 respondents had actually logged onto social media to do this but said it was difficult.

One could go to the Facebook pages but I find the difficulty is that there's no, like, a filing cabinet on it. On the Facebook page it's all over the place (Respondent 3).

A role of community journalism is to provide a forum for community views (Heider et al 2005), and it would seem that *Fourways Review* is creating a space in which to do this, but it is not often used by the community. Respondent 30 believed a reason for this could be that the questions were not sparking debate among the community.

No, I think whoever's doing that from a social media perspective is not hitting the buttons with those questions. I think they are very weak (Respondent 30).

On the previous online there was a section where you could go in and make comments. But I was surprised at how few people used that (Respondent 3).

The criticism could again allude to a belief among some respondents that the newspaper is not as connected to the community as it should be. The responses also indicate that despite *Fourways Review* adapting to the changing media landscape by incorporating a website to publish news, and to try to publish news as it happens in the community, the respondents still accept and identify with the newspaper that is delivered to their doorstep every week. The

respondents therefore expect the newspaper edition to keep up with the news in the community.

4.2.6 Fourways Review does not adequately represent a sense of community among readers

A responsibility of journalism is to gather and report on news of “vital interest” to community members, but an additional responsibility of community journalism is to represent, reinforce and construct the notion of community among community members (Steiner 2012: 21).

I think it's very important that whether one lives in a one-bedroom townhouse or a house, they are all part of the community and I think the community newspaper has an important job to envelop it all (Respondent 10).

Respondent 10's sentiment is that the community newspaper has a role to bring people with a shared frame of reference together (Steiner 2012:21). Participant observation in the newsroom found that *Fourways Review's* distribution area was geographically demarcated by its parent company, Caxton Local Newspapers, a division of Caxton & CTP. As it is a constructed community, often referred to by the staff as the Fourways community, it was found that the respondents did not necessarily identify with all of the areas within the distribution area but were associated to them through reading *Fourways Review*. It was found that the respondents typically viewed their community in terms of their suburbs but this area did extend for some who considered their commutes to work, school and social activities within the area part of their community too. That the newspaper reported information beyond the borders of their suburbs was an attraction of reading the newspaper for some respondents.

If you think about the community it is huge, there are so many different kinds of people in it and which part of that community do you actually target, you know in getting the *Fourways Review*, there is Diepsloot and Fourways Gardens. You know, that is such a diverse community, yet the paper is relevant to both (Respondent 28).

Yet others, like Respondent 16, specifically looked for stories about their suburb in the newspaper, and Respondents 17 and 19 said they were left disappointed when there was no news on their suburbs. Three of the respondents believed *Fourways Review* did not adequately construct a “sense of community” within the area.

Well, considering how big it is and how dispersed it is geographically, perhaps if there was more information about what you could do in those areas that might make the sense of community in the bigger area (Respondent 4).

A challenge of the media is to foster a sense of community among all target groups within a geographically demarcated area through discourse (Hatcher 2013:50). The research shows that although the respondents do accept *Fourways Review* for its provision of local news and role of raising awareness, not all of the respondents believed the community newspaper adequately creates a sense of community among its readers (Hatcher 2013:51). It would seem that *Fourways Review* would need to enhance the way in which it builds the community, especially in terms of bonding capital, by ensuring a stronger association was constructed between the *Fourways Review* brand, its readers and the activities within its distribution area (Hatcher 2013:51). A way to do this would be for the community newspaper to report on more of the community members’ social rituals (Hatcher 2013:51). This was already a function that the respondents hoped the newspaper would fulfil. It could also define itself in opposition to the other city, provincial and national publications distributed to the area (Hatcher 2013:51). Participant observation in the newsroom found that the staff members place emphasis on reporting issues on the *Fourways Review* website as they happen.

Further to the criticism that *Fourways Review* did not adequately construct a sense of community among its readers, three respondents believed the newspaper marginalises community members with certain demographics. Respondent 26 believed that old people are marginalised while Respondent 3

said the paper is “too white” and “there is no cultural bridging”, which was seconded by Respondent 13 who believed black people were not represented as much as white people.

There is very, very little news about black people. I know that the movers and shakers in our suburbs are mainly white but there have to be other movers and shakers who are not. And, there seems to be a disengagement between the black middle class who have moved into these suburbs and the rest of us. We hardly see any black faces involved in our residents’ association. And then of course there are the other people who work here every day, come here and go home every day. We hear nothing about what challenges they face in getting here and going home again. So there is that social imbalance, I would say (Respondent 13).

Further research into whether certain demographics are excluded from *Fourways Review*’s coverage would be needed as only three of the 30 respondents mentioned this. For this research, the concerns are analysed in terms of the respondents’ feelings that *Fourways Review* is not seen to report news which is representative of the whole community, and may therefore be falling short of a community journalism role to report on a wide range of news (Heider et al 2005). It would seem that there is a need for bridging capital to link separate or different groups in the community through a process of strengthening weak ties (Hatcher 2013:51). South African scholars have noted that the challenge of providing a discourse for both readers from privileged backgrounds and marginalised backgrounds within a community is an important challenge confronting South African community journalists (Heider 2013:51). It would seem that *Fourways Review* is not providing the discourse that is needed to sufficiently build the community within its distribution area. However, contrary to those respondents who were critical that *Fourways Review* did not adequately construct a sense of community among readers in its wide distribution area, Respondent 3 saw potential to expand the publications’ distribution area to integrate the township residents into the community. His reasoning was to “help to break that cultural issue that we have” and saying *Fourways Review*’s staff “have a much bigger role than what they think”.

...I also think it is their, it is not their written duty, but it is a duty to help educate people, to help bridge. I also think if I sat here with Terry [Moolman, co-founder of Caxton & CTP], there is only one reason for the paper to exist, and that's money. However, the impact of what a newspaper could do to community is far greater than money. A paper that takes in all these dissenting views and comments and help bring the community together, is what the editors will try to do but you have constraints (Respondent 3).

Respondent 28 also saw potential for the newspaper to report more on the local township community.

I'm sure that Fourways residents would be interested to know what the development plans are for Diepsloot (Respondent 28).

In bridging the divide, *Fourways Review* could create a stronger community, both in terms of its current distribution area and the township community, by involving all members in a discourse (Hatcher 2013:51). However, it would pose other challenges to the newspaper to communicate messages to both audiences, a task some South African studies have labelled as an important challenge confronting community journalists (Hatcher 2013:51).

The respondents were also not convinced that *Fourways Review* adequately represents the voice of the community. Of the 30 respondents interviewed, 16 said it is the voice of the community, three of whom said this was due to it being the only community newspaper which serves the community. There were 12 respondents who do not see it as a voice of the community while two respondents did not answer the question. Five of the respondents who do not believe *Fourways Review* was the voice of the community said the newspaper was not representative of all the residents in the area. Some of the interesting responses of those who do not see the community newspaper as the voice of the community were Respondent 14, who sees it as the "voice of the editors" and Respondent 8, who sees it as a medium for the community to raise issues, but not a voice. All of the respondents who do not believe it is the voice of the community believe the journalists need to be more embedded in the community, a point which will be expanded on and analysed further.

4.2.7 Respondents want *Fourways Review* to provide solutions to community problems

While some of the respondents believe *Fourways Review* is not adequately constructing a sense of community among readers in its distribution area, many of the respondents believed there was not a sense of community within their suburbs either. Many of the respondents described the community as apathetic and separated, and they saw *Fourways Review* as a vehicle to find out what was happening in the area.

There was a lot of chit-chat, but not that sense of community that I spent most of my life involved in, so this is a good bridge, it [the community newspaper] is an “in” to people’s homes, it is brilliant (Respondent 2).

Many of the community members, including those who did not say the community was “apathetic”, believed the community newspaper did not play enough of a role to encourage community members to be involved in civic life.

Everybody’s apathetic, everybody’s too busy so they really want those quick snatches of information which I think the newspaper is good for, but if it was hard-hitting maybe it would encourage the community to be more participative of what’s going on (Respondent 27).

While the problem of apathy in the community was the most mentioned community problem, it was not the only problem, as Respondents 4 and 20 mentioned the problem of reckless driving in the community. However, the problems confronting community members are less important for this research than the finding that the respondents believed *Fourways Review* could provide solutions for community problems, or at least provide the information that would lead to the community solving the community’s problems. This is not an uncommon trait in community journalism as it is considered that community journalists should mediate in a community so that community members can understand a problem (Altschull 1996:172). A few respondents believed the newspaper did fulfil a problem-solving role at present, however many others did

not believe it did but many respondents believed it could fulfil such a role. Researchers have found that a long-standing role of a community newspaper is to be an “agent of community welfare and progress” (Janowitz 1951:525). That community members believed *Fourways Review* could help them to solve their problems is an assumption that this research set out to explore.

Again it was found that the respondents believed the weekly time-frame of the publication posed a challenge in publishing stories and the respondents did not mention how the website could publish stories more timely. Some respondents expressed a lack of confidence in the publication to fulfil a problem-solving role. They did not believe the current standard of reporting in the *Fourways Review* would be capable of applying enough pressure to solve problems. Respondent 27 suggested that *Fourways Review* should outsource investigative journalists to report on such stories.

No, I don't think anyone goes to the local newspaper to help solve a problem (Respondent 14).

I don't think we have enough confidence yet to see it [*Fourways Review*] as a problem solver. It's not the newspaper's fault, I think it's the resistance from City and council and province to recognise that when people complain the onus is on them to do something about it and I think that there's been a big change in the last couple of years where they have said, let them complain, it's not going to change our opinion, so I'm not putting blame on the publication for that but I do think that there may be a greater need to call out responsible officials to be called out by the paper to be answerable to the publication for their positions (Respondent 25).

I wouldn't have thought of going to Caxton for exposing something that's really big, and maybe we should (Respondent 27).

If you go in there without really investigating and researching, you've got to make sure that what you are saying because if you go out there without making sure that what you're saying is credible and correct, you leave yourself to a lot of criticism and people will then start saying well, I don't want to read it (Respondent 29).

The general consensus of the respondents who believed the newspaper did or could fulfil the role of a problem solver in the community was that the impact of

putting a problem in the public eye helped to get officials and leaders to take action.

I think simply by naming and shaming and putting it out there, like I think in the past a journalist has said, well I am going to contact the fire department, and that sort of galvanises it and then suddenly came out and inspected (Respondent 10).

I think the community looks to the newspaper to help them with some municipal or police problems, but I think it is mainly to get publicity. For public issues, the paper is looked to for exposure (Respondent 11).

One of those characteristics is providing solutions to the community's problems is a role that has been associated with community newspapers since the 1950s, referred to as the "friendly neighbour" (Reader 2012) or "good neighbour" (Heider et al 2005:962). In a 2005 American survey into what the public expects of local news, a sample of 600 respondents' firmly supported the characteristics of the friendly neighbour role of local news, which included offering solutions to the community's problems, showing care for the community, reporting on interesting community members and understanding the community (Heider et al 2005: 962). The role of a good neighbour is also seen as an expansion of the watchdog role of the press which gives way for the local press to set agendas instead of only chronicling what the local intuitions are doing, thereby discovering citizens' concerns and making sure they are reporting on what the public need to know (Heider et al 2005: 963). It was found that if the public expects the press to fulfil the role of a good neighbour and the local press does not fulfil that role, there would be a disconnect between the public's and local press's expectations of local news (Heider et al 2005: 962).

4.2.8 Fourways Review is viewed as a commercialised product

The commercialised aspect of *Fourways Review*, as mentioned above by Respondent 3, was a critique raised by all of the respondents as they said the community newspaper was dominated by advertisements.

I think they can afford to add content, both soft and hard and everything in-between. I think these guys [advertisers] are giving you enough to do that (Respondent 1).

The business concerns of community newspapers are not particular to *Fourways Review* but rather have been an important criticism of community journalism in studies (Reader 2012:12). In this research, some found the advertising useful, while others, like Respondent 11, simply set it aside to clean up spills around the house. While this research is not exploring the advertising side of the publication, the respondents raised two key issues with the advertising that they believed affected the editorial content.

The first is that all of the respondents spoke of the large number of advertisements in *Fourways Review*, with many remarking that it was “full of adverts”. Some of the respondents believed they missed some of the articles because of the heavy advertising loading.

Off the top, one thing that really irritates me is when you have three-quarters of a page advert and one column editorial, it hardly grabs my attention because this *points to advert* is irritating me. ... You know, you are getting a lot of advertising in, and little content. If they could try to get it to fifty-fifty, I think it would be better. Without the pull-out supplements, there isn't really a lot here (Respondent 1).

The respondents of this research consider *Fourways Review* to be a commercialised product. Community journalism is considered as an agent for community progress (Janowitz 1951:524) with a strong community orientation (Reader 2012:5). It is therefore not typically considered to be a commercialised product (Hatcher 2015:50) that is “published merely for profit” (Janowitz 1951:525), however, research into community newspapers in the United States has found them to be advertiser-driven (Hatcher 2013:50). However, it is noted that a newspaper would not be able to run without showing a profit from its advertisers (Reader 2012:13). Further, a study found that advertising agencies and daily newspapers criticised the community newspapers for being “all adverts” (Janowitz 1951:524). While the percentage of advertising to news content is not the focus of this study, the respondents' complaint of a high

loading of advertisements in *Fourways Review*, with notable mention of the large number of pull-out advertising supplements, fits the description of a commercialised newspaper (Janowitz 1951:524).

The second issue was the belief that the community newspaper was carrying national advertising. Respondent 30 was highly critical stating: “I don’t think they fool one member of the community at all that it is a community newspaper.”

Because purely I think it’s about business model and I don’t believe that whoever’s running this operation understands their business model as a single entity, they probably understand it as a media model, that it’s just a little brand along the line, but as an individual business model entity, they miss the business model on this thing big time. 99 percent. ... so it seems to be a wrap-around, lazy journalism feature for national advertising, I think that’s a good summary (Respondent 30).

This stance was echoed by Respondents 5, 8 and 12 who believed local advertisers are not using *Fourways Review* as an advertising platform.

Respondent 12 said she could not afford the high advertising cost for her community organisation and believed as a community newspaper, *Fourways Review* should offer cheaper advertising rates for community-based organisations.

I think there should be fees for community projects so that it can actually create a valid and just interest, you know the picture and the cartoon (Respondent 12).

The respondents’ belief of the national advertising stance of the publication is not typical of advertising in community newspapers, which have been found to consider advertisers as community members (Reader 2012:12). To what extent *Fourways Review* sells advertising to national advertisers as opposed to local business owners is not the topic of this research, but what is important to note is that while the respondents complained of the high loading of advertisements, many did think they were of interest and aided them in shopping for things they needed in the community. For example, Respondent 4 mentioned that while she did not always look at the advertisements, when she was buying a new car she

knew she could use the newspaper to find advertisements on cars. The commercialised aspect of *Fourways Review* did not seem to make the respondents lose trust in the publication, a problem which Janowitz's (1951) study found.

Respondent 30 further stated that the “national strategy” of the newspaper transferred to the design of *Fourways Review*'s front page which has a large photograph, headline and teaser for a story inside the paper.

No publication worth its salt would ever run a front page like this. They would make certain that they capture as many of their market as possible with a little headline there, a little snapshot there. ... This has got one headline, and if I'm not into horses, I'm not interested. So, it tells me that this is not a for sale publication, it's a let's-just-get-another-publication-out because we've got to get another publication out to wrap around these adverts (Respondent 30).

However, Respondent 3 argued that despite what is on the front page of the publication, *Fourways Review* has a “captive audience” that will read the newspaper.

Nobody's paper comes to the door, for free every week. Nobody's does that, so, to be arrogant, the readers don't have a choice. Whatever is on the front page, they will still pick it up and they will still read it. (Respondent 3).

Respondent 3's stance was proven true as despite some of the respondents' criticisms of both the editorial and the advertising in the publication, all 30 of the respondents accepted the publication.

4.2.9 Respondents believe Fourways Review should spark civic involvement to build up the community

Many of the respondents who called on *Fourways Review* to offer solutions to the community's problems suggested that they hoped the community

newspaper would also encourage civic involvement among community members.

I think they should be promoting an activism among normal residents instead of an apathy and I think that the newspaper should take diverse angles on issues to make residents aware that they have a role to play (Respondent 25).

This paper backs no causes, there is not a local community cause that is backed by this paper. So, what's its role in the community? It should be a champion to one or two things and it can become a champion by turning around and saying, here's the debate here, here's the debate there. The community can make the decision, but the paper can raise it (Respondent 30).

This research did not find that promoting activism in the community was a role commonly associated with community journalism, however, an American researcher described an American community newspaper, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, which promoted civic involvement in the 1980s (Killenberg 2012: 84). The newspaper's publisher led the newspaper to attack community problems by pressurising officials and leaders in the community to take action (Killenberg 2012:84). The publisher defended the newspaper's stance by saying that it showed the newspaper's staff were embedded in the community. He, like Reader (2012), Byerly (1961), Lauterer (2006) and many other community journalism scholars believed that a community newspaper's staff cannot know what happens in the community unless they are part of that community (Killenberg 2012: 84). Ethical concerns would be raised for the community newspaper to promote civic activism, however, the respondents' suggestions indicate that they do not believe *Fourways Review* is truly speaking on behalf of the community or reporting on the core community issues.

4.2.10 More investigation is needed to report on core community issues

While the respondents agreed that *Fourways Review* provided an overview on the happenings in its distribution area, with a special mention that it provided information on the feel-good and crime stories, some of the respondents saw

potential for the journalists to “get a lot deeper” instead of providing “a light overview” (Respondent 1) and believed stories should have more “meat” (Respondent 5).

All of Caxton’s papers are in a predictable groove. It’s okay for the audience, and I am big on disruption and disruption feels good, but they have to be prepared to take the heat (Respondent 3).

Respondents 1, 3, 21, 27, 29 and 30 were most critical that *Fourways Review* reported in a “conservative” style and did not offer enough in-depth reporting.

I think its content is very nice and it’s quite PC most of the time, except for the crime where it is quite hard-hitting, but I think that there are a lot of things that are happening which are not [being reported as] hard-hitting enough, it’s not what’s going on ... I think, things that are affecting the local community, that’s what I expect to read, the meaty issues, rather than picking them up on page five of *The Star*, I expect the community paper to expose that (Respondent 27).

The respondents who wanted *Fourways Review* to provide in-depth reporting on the issues affecting the community believed the community newspaper could investigate information and provide a forum for the community’s views. This investigative role of the newspaper which the respondents believe *Fourways Review* could fulfil is not an uncommon role of local news (Heider et al 2005) and has actually been associated with journalism since the 18th Century (Donohue et al 1995:118). It is the perspective of the press as the fourth estate, that it is a watchdog on society to investigate information and be a forum for the public (Donohue et al 1995:118). The perspective of the press as a watchdog in society infers that media has autonomy, represents the interests of the public and have independence to challenge dominant groups (Donohue et al 1995:118).

Of the 30 respondents interviewed, 13 respondents did not believe that *Fourways Review* fulfilled a watchdog function in the community.

No, I don't see it [as a watchdog]. I see it merely as people reporting when they need exposure so they will contact the paper rather than the paper going out and finding stuff. I may be wrong, it may be an editing problem or a cost problem and they do find out all of these things but it just doesn't reflect in the newspaper (Respondent 27).

Respondent 29 had experience of when he believed a story was worth investigating and the newspaper staff said they did not have the capacity to investigate it further.

I know that on a few occasions when you come up with some stories you get told, now hang on, we're a local paper and we're not like The Star or something like that (Respondent 29).

Of the respondents who did not see the newspaper fulfilling an investigative role in the community, seven believed there was a need for the newspaper to play such a role and saw potential for the newspaper to fulfil this role.

But I think it could play other roles, like the watchdog, keeping the community intact and holding people accountable for things that are incorrect but also celebrating those aspects are doing well (Respondent 15).

In contrast to those who were critical that the newspaper did not play a watchdog role in its distribution area, 11 respondents said the newspaper did play a watchdog role, with the belief among most that it fulfilled the role by its mere presence in the community and reporting on community issues.

It is a watchdog, for example when I brought a story to it of two fellows, they did consider publishing it and by them asking the questions, it did prevent the two fellows from going public. I would say it is one of its roles, it doesn't have a single role (Respondent 11).

One respondent said the community did not depend on the community newspaper to fulfil a watchdog role.

I think they [residents] look to themselves to be the watchdog, they look to their resident associations (Respondent 14).

Six respondents did not have an opinion on whether they thought the newspaper fulfilled a watchdog role in the community.

The call from some respondents for a more investigative role of the newspaper may negate part of the acceptability for the newspaper as a quick-read, but Respondents 1, 18, 27 and 28 believed there could be a section for investigative reports introduced into the newspaper. Many respondents said an important part of that investigative section would be for the journalists to follow the developments of stories, as many of the respondents who did not see the publication as a watchdog cited the lack of “follow-ups” as the biggest reason as to why they did not see the publication as fulfilling a watchdog role.

I think that it will make a bigger difference if it [an issue] is followed-up. I think there could be a lack of responding in keeping the community informed. It's been six months since we've reported this, and nothing has happened, we have approached City of Joburg and this is what they said. It's not good enough. We went further. We went to the mayor, we spoke to the ward councillor who will address it at her Joburg 10 Plus meetings. I think that might give the newspaper more muscle, and people will literally grab that paper to see what happened to the girl who was dragged by the taxi, what is happening to the K60 (Respondent 17).

In order to fulfil a watchdog role, the newspaper would have to have substantial autonomy, represent the interests of the public instead of the dominant groups and challenge dominant groups (Donohue et al 1995:118). A notion among many respondents was that *Fourways Review* did not challenge dominant groups in the community. Further to not challenging dominant groups, there were five respondents who were particularly critical that the newspaper's staff were “intimidated” by certain individuals, organisations and parties. This led to Respondent 1's utterance that the newspaper's reporting of issues raised by a certain group of residents “could be more objective” as he believed the newspaper was intimidated to publish what a particular organisation said. Respondent 21 also believed that the newspaper's staff were intimidated by certain members of the community, believing that the paper was “influenced” by

individuals and by one particular individual, saying, “I think they [the paper] are very scared of him.” Respondent 13 thought the newspaper had been “politically hijacked”, a view which was supported by Respondent 14.

It was suggested by Respondent 30 that the newspaper should provide a wider forum for community views, a role associated with local news (Heider et al 2005), including views which opposed those of dominant community members.

There will be a status quo point-of-view, don't rock the boat and there will be those that will be saying that we want things to happen, so, to me, the paper should be about two points of view on every article and to see which is the most controversial (Respondent 30).

It is not uncommon for community newspapers to avoid probing local tensions within the community (Steiner 2012:21). An early study by Janowitz into the role of community media in communities found that community media avoids or ignores reporting on controversies (Steiner 2012:21). Studies have found various reasons as to why the press would minimise its reporting of conflict in the community, for example one study found that minimising reporting on conflict reinforced local authorities, but it was found that even in these cases, it did not mean the newspapers always reported passively (Donohue et al 1995:120). It has been shown that when larger newspapers pick up on controversies in the community, the community media will then pick up on the story and run with it (Reader 2012:9).

The concept of “timidity” in the reporting style of community journalism is not particular to this study. In fact, critics of the “friendly-neighbour” reporting style of community journalism believe that it creates timid reporting and threaten journalistic independence (Reader 2012:9). It is thought that the community newspaper would not want to offend the community, or single out community members, with aggressive reporting on community conflicts and therefore the effects of journalistic choices on individual community members have to be more carefully considered than in broader journalism practises (Reader 2012:9). It is a debate that has been discussed since the concept of community

journalism was conceptualised in the 1950s (Reader 2012:9). However, the respondents were not convinced the journalists were as embedded in the community as they believed they should be.

4.2.11 Journalists are not embedded in the community

A trait of community journalism is that reporters and editors do not need to be reminded to 'connect' with community members, as they already belong to and are connected with the community they serve (Killenberg 2012: 83). Studies have argued that community journalists who are embedded in the community have an intimate knowledge of the happenings in the community (Hatcher 2010:55). However, this research found that a few of the respondents did not believe that *Fourways Review's* journalists were as embedded in the community as they probably should be and attributed this to why they believed the newspaper sometimes failed to report on the issues that are affecting the community. Of the 30 respondents interviewed, only six had seen *Fourways Review's* journalists at events in the community, while a further six respondents said that when they had invited the journalists, they had attended. There were 13 respondents who did not see the community journalists at events and these respondents were critical that this signalled that the journalists were not as embedded in the community as they believed they should be. There were seven of the respondents believed that the *Fourways Review* brand, both in terms of the journalists and the actual delivery of the newspaper, needed to be emphasised in the community to draw the community's attention to the brand: "I wouldn't know them if I fell over them," (Respondent 28). Respondent 3 believed the journalists should wear *Fourways Review* branded t-shirts or drive a branded car.

And I do think that if you had an interested journalist in Paulshof, he or she would be aware and give publicity. That's very lacking, definitely (Respondent 7).

While researchers have considered that gated newsrooms have impacted the ability of community members to share information with community journalists (Killenberg 2012:85), 25 of the 30 respondents believed the journalists are or would be accessible. Respondents 10 and 17 believed that the journalists would be more accessible if they were more involved in the community. Only Respondent 7 did not believe the contact numbers stood out enough for her to know how to contact them.

My personal view, I think I saw a reporter maybe over a year last. Things have changed last. I mean, I would like to see her at Mugg and Bean and arrange with Jamie that when she comes here, please give her a free cup of coffee, so she doesn't need to use money. To have a relationship and really talk about the residents. I think in an ideal world that would be nice and residents would be so appreciative. By making friends, sitting with the community at events talking to the community. Not just sitting somewhere and being copied on an email (Respondent 17).

The characteristic that the *Fourways Review* journalists liked being copied on emails to keep up with the news in the community was repeated by many of the respondents. These respondents believed the journalists preferred to be sent press releases with the information to be used rather than attending events and interacting with community members to report on the news. Respondent 30 was critical that the journalists' reliance on press releases indicated "lazy journalism". It was further stated that the high turn-over of staff made it difficult for the respondents to nurture relationships with the journalists and that it was difficult to get to know who the journalists working on the publication are.

I think we as MAF [Magaliessig Action Forum] should be getting more coverage but the issue is that we must produce the stories. Maybe that's what we should be doing and start to build a relationship with one of the reporters, which is what I had done with a journalist, then she disappeared and I certainly wasn't happy with the relationship with one of the journalists, because, I didn't think her professionalism was very good. And suddenly, there is all these new reporters. Maybe they should run an article, a group photo, welcoming the new staff so the consumer as it were can know who's who in the zoo, because this way we know nothing (Respondent 19).

Along with not being visible in the community, Respondent 18 believed that the community journalists did not always know facts or history of community issues which led to errors in their reports.

No, it's just that some of the facts I know are not accurate, but you can't blame it, you know the journalist goes there with no background knowledge and you know, you do your best (Respondent 18).

Such a criticism is not new in the field of community journalism as some critics see community newsrooms as a place for careerists without "local roots" to advance their careers (Steiner 2012:21). The finding also conflicts the findings of another study that South African community journalists have strong attachments and connections to the communities they serve (Hatcher 2013). Respondents 13 and 25 preferred to send the journalists press releases in order for the stories to convey the meanings that they intended and because they had found there was a higher chance for the copy to be used.

Look, sometimes when I am quoted, as opposed to doing a press release, it's not quite what I said. It changes the meaning, it changes the emphasis, it changes the nuance (Respondent 13).

Mistakes in the accuracy of articles was pointed out by many of the respondents and a few also indicated spelling and grammar mistakes they had found. However, Respondents 11 and 13 said when they addressed the errors with the team, they had been amended. Five respondents who had experienced errors in the copy in the past wanted to see the copy before it was sent to press, and while they noted that they had been told that this was not an editorial policy of the *Fourways Review* newsroom, it was a policy that they wanted to see change until they were convinced that the reporters would represent their side of stories accurately. Respondent 18 expressed that the reason for this was that the "repercussions can be quite enormous" on the community.

The respondents were critical that *Fourways Review*'s journalists did not exercise a community approach to reporting on matters affecting the community, with Respondent 19 feeling "bullied" by a journalist.

I just think that they should train their reporters a bit better; that would be my comment. ... Well, in their approach and communication with the community because you're not going to get co-operation if you don't know how to speak to people. Don't try to bully people, because I won't be bullied (Respondent 19).

The respondents' belief that the *Fourways Review* did not always exhibit care for the community in their interactions further alludes that the respondents did not believe the journalists were as embedded in the community as they should be. This is in conflict to community journalists are typically stakeholders in and boosters of the community due to their strong community connections and in the hope of improving community life (Hatcher 2010:60). It would seem that the respondents believe a key characteristic of local news to show care about the community (Heider et al 2005) is missing.

4.2.12 Conclusion of the findings of the first sub-problem

This extensive first section has explored that the 30 community members read *Fourways Review*, with 29 of them reading the publication weekly, as a source for feel-good news, security tips and to understand how other community members' problems and feelings. They see the publication as a platform to raise awareness for community events, issues and problems, however criticised the publication for not giving them enough information of events and investigation into the community problems. The respondents saw an opportunity for the newspaper to help them to solve their problems and encourage community members to get involved in the community, however, it is not typically the role of a community newspaper to advocate issues. The respondents largely criticised the publication for not representing a sense of community among its wide distribution of readers, and cited problems in the reporting such as a lack of knowledge of the history of community problems and

inaccuracies to their perception that the journalists were not as embedded in the community as they believed they should be. While the respondents viewed the publication as a commercialised product, a view not typically associated with community press, they did not find distrust in their belief of the newspaper's drive for profits. The section therefore shows that despite their loyalty to the newspaper, they did believe the newspaper was falling short of their expectations.

4.3 Findings of the second sub-problem

The second sub-problem explores how community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community

The exploration of the respondents' expectations of *Fourways Review* has revealed the community newspaper falls short of notifying community members of upcoming events, contact information for local organisations, people and places and does not provide investigations, explanations or solutions to the community's problems. In light of such shortcomings, the research will go on to explore how the respondents use *Fourways Review* to navigate the organisations, institutions and activities in the community. The research aims to understand how the respondents use local media to integrate into their community (Stamm 1988:358).

4.3.1 Respondents' interest in their community makes them read Fourways Review

This research has already established that the 30 respondents interviewed read and accept *Fourways Review* as a provider of local news, however, in this section it was further found that 22 of the 30 respondents believed it was their interest in the area and the decisions that they need to make in the area that made them want to read *Fourways Review*.

I think it's the whole of. If I move to Cape Town, I wouldn't read the *Fourways Review* (Respondent 14).

However, four respondents firmly believed the only reason they read the newspaper was out of habit, and did not use it to make decisions in the Fourways area. Respondent 8 said he would not miss it if it was not delivered.

It's because some idiot throws it on my stoep and I am forced to pick it up just to see if there is anything of interest but, no, it's not a compelling read. ... I think it's an important interest and that's why I glance at it. And if it didn't exist, someone else would step in to fill that gap (Respondent 30).

Respondent 30's belief that it is an "important interest" may allude to a finding in previous studies, that community members who have attachments to their communities will read the newspaper that serves their neighbourhoods (Stamm 1988:359). Such attachments were measured in terms of the community members' attitudes, social bonds and participation (Stamm 1988:359).

4.3.2 Respondents express a mostly positive attitude to the community

The majority of the respondents interviewed expressed a positive attitude to their community, with 28 of the 30 saying they would be sorry to leave the community. As pointed out in sub-problem one, the respondents referred to their "community" as the suburbs they lived in (and some mentioned their routes to work, school and shops) and not the whole of the *Fourways Review* distribution area. Their community is therefore part of a nested or interdependent community of neighbourhoods within the larger city; a community within a community (Stamm 1988:359).

Respondents 21 and 30 said they did not feel a particular "loyalty" to the Fourways area and could easily make a home in another area.

I couldn't care less if I moved into another community and looked around it and if it had what I needed (Respondent 30).

It would appear that these two respondents do not have an attachment to the physical context of the community and therefore do not have a sense of place (Brehm 2007:479). Yet Respondents 4 and 28, who were part of the majority of the respondents that said they would be sorry to leave their communities, admitted they would prefer to live somewhere else but cited the convenience that their home, work and services were in the community which gave them a sense of attachment to the place.

I have been very happy here, I find it very convenient here, it is terribly central for my work and so I would have to have a change in my work circumstances to change something that has worked so well for me (Respondent 4).

Convenience was mentioned by a few other respondents, notably by Respondent 8, as a reason why they would be sorry to leave the community. For other of the respondents, the social bonds contributed to their attachment to the community.

You know, the older you get is what are you going to do when you retire. My and my wife's philosophy is that our friends are here (Respondent 29).

There were 14 respondents said that they would not leave the community, even in consideration of their retirement, while Respondents 1 and 18 said they planned to leave the community when they retired.

Respondents 7 and 16 mentioned that despite crime being bad, there was "sense of community" generated from getting involved in their suburbs and that is what would make them sorry to leave the community.

I also think that our sense of community is very strong because we've also gone out there and made an effort to get to our neighbours, mostly to the fact, because of crime (Respondent 7).

It's not the security thing because that sucks, it's really bad, but it's the sense of community. I don't think I have ever driven down my little stretch

of road here and not said hello to anyone so, we have our little community involvement (Respondent 16).

The “sense of community” refers to the community members’ emotional attachment or investment to a place (Brehm 2007:479). Such an emotional connection has been found to emerge in the context of the community of place and due to their participation in community events, a factor that Janowitz and Kasarda (1974) suggested influenced community attachment. The positive attitudes of the community members to the community has been demonstrated in the respondents’ ties to the community as a place, for its services offered and for an emotional attachment (Stamm 1988: 357). It was further found that that the majority of the respondents felt an emotional attachment to the community, with 28 of the 30 saying they felt a sense of belonging to the community. It should be noted that while Respondents 21 and 30 cited they would not be sorry to leave the community, both respondents said they felt a sense of belonging to the community. The respondents believed their emotional attachment to the community was sparked by their involvement in community events and organisations as well as their social bonds with other community members. Both of these factors were cited in previous studies as contributors to an individual’s attachment to the community (Janowitz & Kasarda 1974).

I think just that I am here and I am involved in the doings and the goings on and to a greater or lesser degree I think I am accepted in the community and I think that helps (Respondent 14).

Respondents 4 and 5 said they did not feel part of the community and indicated that the apathy felt by some, as explored for sub-problem one, was a contributing factor.

I’ve lived here a long time but I don’t think there is much community in the suburb. You know what I mean, that’s why I think that part needs to be more worked (Respondent 4).

Both Respondents 4 and 5 said they did not often participate in the activities offered in the community.

The implication of this finding is that individuals are interdependent on the community for a place to live and work for services and less tangible amenities such as a sense of belonging (Stamm 1988:357). However, the interest of this research is to what extent the community newspaper contributes to the respondents' emotional attachments to the community.

4.3.3 Majority of respondents believe Fourways Review contributes to their sense of belonging

The majority of the respondents, 23 of the 30 interviewed, agreed that reading the community newspaper helped them to feel a sense of belonging to the community. Notably, Respondent 5, who did not feel a sense of belonging to the community independent of the newspaper, was one of the respondents who believed that the newspaper helped her to feel involved in the community.

I get to “know” people in my community by reading about them and what they’ve achieved etc. (Respondent 5).

Most of these respondents noted this was on a subconscious level due to the newspaper's role in familiarising them with places and activities in the community. Early research found that community newspapers are able to develop and reinforce community members' identification to a place by publicising community activities, reporting on local issues and public opinion and telling community members what to look out for (Edelstein & Larsen 1960:497). Edelstein and Larsen's (1960) research is dated but the findings of their study continue to underlie recent findings, and so too, seem to relate to this research. The finding of this research also supports the finding that community members' views of the physical aspect of a place were often found to be part of the reasons for their emotional attachments to the community (Brehm 2007:487).

For Respondent 3, that sense of belonging was created for the 30 minutes which he spent reading the newspaper, while for Respondents 6, 7, 15, 16 and 26, the newspaper provided them a sense of belonging to the area on a subconscious level by association of reading news of the places, people and organisations with whom they were familiar in the community. Respondents 9, 11 and 21 also said their familiarity with the *Fourways Review* journalists inspired their belief that the community newspaper contributed to their sense of belonging to the community.

I also feel that the *Fourways Review* journalists are part of us, like when we have our clean ups on a Saturday morning, they are reporting but they are taking part as well (Respondent 11).

There were six respondents who said reading the newspaper did not contribute to their sense of belonging to the community and cited the reason being that the community newspaper did not sufficiently provide news to build up the spirit of the community. One respondent (Respondent 12) refused to answer the question.

I don't think it [community's sense of belonging] is anywhere near the level that it should be promoted as it should be by community leadership, and this *points to *Fourways Review** needs to be a community leader. I think community leadership falls far short of stimulating community loyalty and that's going to be your marketing line, *Fourways Review* is about community leadership and it's failing dismally, as are most community leaders (Respondent 30).

Respondent 27 agreed with Respondent 30's sentiments, and, as was explored for sub-problem one, believed the newspaper did not represent all areas in its distribution area well enough to construct that sense of community.

One thing that I have noticed, if you put yourself in the shoes of a new person, but they don't really have graphic maps, or where Lonehill is, so that would be quite useful, you know, just the size of an advert, of which areas they cover. I don't know what areas it covers, I just know its Fourways, Lonehill and Kyalami because I am in that area. So, if there is a story that says there was a shooting in Sunninghill, and someone says well I am new to the area, where is Sunninghill, they're not going to go

and get a map book and where it is, whereas if it was there every week, it would be quite useful. It's just a template that is there, it shouldn't cost anything except maybe advertising space, which brings in money, or get one of the advertisers to sponsor it every month with their logo on it, then it's easy (Respondent 27).

The respondents' criticism that *Fourways Review* lacks in certain content is a recurring theme and influences how the respondents use the newspaper. In this section, it does not provide the information needed in order to stimulate the respondents' identification with the whole of its distribution area (Edelstein & Larsen 1960:498).

4.3.4 Fourways Review could provide more options of what to do in the community

Most of the respondents who felt a sense of belonging to the area said that their emotional attachment was induced by their involvement in community events and organisations. Some of the involvements which gave them that feeling of belonging were taking their children to school (Respondents 3, 7 and 28), being recognised by local small businesses (Respondent 15) and by getting involved in community projects and events such as cleaning up rivers (Respondents 14 and 29). The involvement in the community activities also made Respondents 14 and 29 feel that they were accepted as part of the community. Participation is one of the factors Janowitz and Kasarda (1974:338) attributed to an individual's attachment to the community and it was further found to be a contributor to media use (Stamm et al 1988; Brehm 2007). Local media has been found to be essential for the functioning of the community as previous studies have found that when the interdependence between the individuals and communities were strong, the local media benefited (Stamm 1988: 357).

Yes, I initially joined the CPF [Community Policing Forum] from reading *Fourways Review* (Respondent 11).

However, there were 13 respondents who said the newspaper had not influenced them to join any organisations or attend any events in the area. For

Respondents 2, 8 and 30, *Fourways Review* did not give them enough details about the organisations or events happening in the community to help them to get more involved. Respondent 2 gave an example of how she was actively searching for a bridge club but one was not advertised anywhere in the community, not even in the community newspaper.

A bit of proactive journalism may be the answer for what is needed (Respondent 8).

However, Respondent 7 believed the onus should be on the area's clubs and committees to seek publicity, which she believed was "free publicity", for their upcoming events and organisations. However, Respondent 3 warned the community newspaper needed to ensure there was balance in giving publicity to the community events.

There's a good call to action from the paper and I think that's why a lot of community organisations would sort of love to put more into the paper, but you know there's a lot but it can't always be that, because even with people it would be like there's that again, so there's always a balance (Respondent 3).

The responses show that *Fourways Review* has the ability to promote community involvement, and thereby promote the readers' attachment to the area (Demers 1996), but the publication's lack of content once again was seen as an inhibitor.

4.3.5 Respondents depend on social bonds more than on Fourways Review

The social bonds community members share in their communities has been found to stimulate individuals' attachments to a community (Janowitz & Kasarda 1974). In previous research studies it was found that social factors, such as the respondents' length of residence in a particular community contributed to the development of social bonds (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974:338) and attachment to the community (Stamm 1988; Brehm 2007). However, this research did not find

evidence of the respondents' length of residence having an impact on their attachment to the community, as Respondent 4, who had lived in the area for 20 years said, "I've lived here a long time but I don't think there is much community in the suburb." Meanwhile, Respondent 9 had only lived in the area for three years and yet she had a firm sense of belonging to the community and had formed friendships with her neighbours. In another example, Respondent 20 had just moved to the suburb and already found a sense of belonging.

A significant indication of individuals' strong attachment to a community is demonstrated by the degree to which residents described their neighbours as friendly, trusting as supportive (Sundblad & Sapp 2011:529). It has been found that interaction with friendly, trusting and supportive neighbours can lead to greater community attachment as well as participation and collective action (Sundblad & Sapp 2011:529). The respondents in this research shared strong social bonds with their neighbours, with only Respondents 5, 12 and 22 saying they did not know their neighbours. Many studies have tried to explain how individual's social bonds and personal experiences in a community stimulate or reduce their media use (Demers 1996:305). This research found the respondents used their social bonds to share information in the community, an important consideration in community ties research, which determines the relationship between community members, their community and their use of the media (Stamm 1988:357). There were 23 respondents who said they regularly spoke to their friends, family or neighbours about the news content reported in *Fourways Review*, particularly news that affected their immediate suburbs, residents' associations or drives to work. Respondent 6 said she would cut out interesting articles and Respondent 14, who reads most of *Fourways Review's* news on the website, said she would often send the links of the stories of interest to her friends and family. Respondents 16 and 17 both said that when there was a story of interest to their suburb, they would take a photograph of it and circulate it among other residents on a social media group. Respondent 22 believed it was her "responsibility" to share such information. This finding supports a theoretical perspective of community attachment research that

individuals' personal experiences in a community will increase their use of local media in order to seek more information about the community that can be satisfied through the media (Demers 1996:306).

However, there was criticism among the seven respondents who said they did not share information they had read in *Fourways Review* that they had not found anything interesting that had particularly related to them and that they had thought their friends, family or neighbours should know about. This may relate to some respondents' criticism, as pointed out earlier in this research, that *Fourways Review* did not always report on the core issues in the community that were affecting them.

The paper isn't keeping up with the community at the moment
(Respondent 17).

Previous community attachment research found that despite their strong social bonds, community members will still seek information from the local newspaper rather than depending on their social bonds for local knowledge (Demers 1996:307). It was believed this is because community newspapers are viewed as the local authority on news and are able to access information about community life which the public would not ordinarily be able to access (Demers 1996:307). However, this was not found in this research where 22 respondents said they depended on their social networks in the community such as their neighbours or residents associations in order to find out what was happening in the community, rather than consult *Fourways Review* to find answers to their questions or use it as a directory.

It's certainly not a medium that I believe helps you to answer questions like that (Respondent 30).

Not really, our first point of call would be the residents' association and our group that we've formed, we would probably chat about it and then we would take it further with the residents' association (Respondent 7).

A few respondents said that they would make a connection between the problems or events they had seen in the community to that which was reported in the newspaper but would not actively consult the newspaper in order to find out what had happened. One reason for this was that the respondents found it difficult to search the *Fourways Review* website. Respondents 21 and 25 would look for stories they had previously read but found it was not user-friendly as a platform to find out information.

The search-ability, is not particularly good (Respondent 25).

Such findings align more with the argument of agenda-setting researchers who argue individuals' personal experience in the community diminishes their media use (Demers 1996:305). The argument is that personal experience with issues is a substitute for media reports on those issues (Demers 1996:305). Further, only six of the 30 respondents interviewed said they rely solely on *Fourways Review* for information in their suburb and surroundings and said they would not know how to access news about the local community without *Fourways Review* or said it was difficult to access such information. However, the 24 respondents who supplement the news provided by *Fourways Review* access local news through community-based social media pages, their residents' association newsletters, local news websites, a community magazine which is also produced by Caxton, community social media chat groups, the community policing forum and interactions with community members. Yet, Respondent 13 believed *Fourways Review* had a "monopoly" on local news in the area and Respondents 29 believed it was difficult to access news from residents' associations.

Fourways Review is probably the only medium we have for local knowledge. We get letters from Gekco and the Rhenosterspruit, but you know they're not interested in the development that's going on in Fourways, we would know nothing about that if it wasn't for the *Fourways Review*. And the police, the security angle in the *Review* is very important (Respondent 18).

While the findings reveal the respondents are critical that the newspaper does not provide them with enough information which they believe they need in order to find out what is happening in the community, they do not conclusively reveal that it is due to the respondents' personal experiences with issues that they do not depend on the newspaper for local information.

It is between a dependency and a nice-to-have. I'm not too sure my life would end if it wasn't here, but certainly there's a comfort in me getting it every week (Respondent 1).

From the respondents' remarks it would seem that if the newspaper provided them with more information in the community, they would use it more, which is the perspective of community attachment research (Demers 1996:305).

4.3.6 Respondents are not reliant on Fourways Review but know more because of reading it

Despite the majority of the respondents saying they did not solely rely on *Fourways Review* for local information and would consult their social networks before the community newspaper to find out what was happening, 27 of the respondents said they knew more about what was happening in their surroundings because of reading *Fourways Review*. It is apparent the respondents were referring to the whole of the *Fourways Review* distribution area and not just their suburbs, except for Respondent 16 who said she only looked for information on her suburb or interests. Three respondents took a strong stance to say that if it weren't for *Fourways Review* they would not know what was happening in the local community. Two of the three did not supplement their local news and while Respondent 14 did supplement her news use, she believed the community newspaper provided a needed service.

You can't [access local news without *Fourways Review*] that's the problem, that's why it is such a big whole here because we don't get the paper so we don't get access to the publication (Respondent 14).

It is the respondents' attachment to the community and personal experiences in the community that made them want to read *Fourways Review* and to find out what was happening in the community (Demers 1996:305). While their personal experiences helped them to find out more about what was happening in the community than what they believed the newspaper could provide, the respondents' largely still believed the newspaper was an important platform in providing local news.

4.3.7 Community members should contribute to the newspaper more

An argument was made that the community did not only need to depend on *Fourways Review* to supply them with information but that the community should help the newspaper by supplying information. It was believed that this would combat criticisms like that of Respondent 30 who said, "I don't think it's a big enough influence as ears on the ground."

I think it would be really good if people took pictures and sent in comment and took a bit of ownership of the paper, and I think slowly they almost need invites, "Please send us your pictures, send in your stories". That level [of] community is missing (Respondent 3).

While sub-problem one explored how some, like Respondent 8, believed the journalists should be embedded in the community to report on core community issues and upcoming events, for the community to contribute to the newspaper would fulfil the interdependence among the individual, community and local media which Stamm (1988) believed was necessary to sustain newspaper readership as well as to integrate individuals into the community (Stamm 1988: 358).

4.3.8 Conclusion of the findings of the second sub-problem

The exploration of the second sub-problem of this research has revealed a similar finding to the exploration of the respondents' responses to sub-problem one, which is that *Fourways Review* does not provide them with enough

information which they believe they need to know. While the respondents' interest, attachment and personal experiences in the Fourways community stimulates them to read *Fourways Review*, they were not convinced that the newspaper provided them with enough information to navigate the community and therefore depended on their social bonds and personal experiences to find out more about community problems and issues rather than to consult *Fourways Review*. While they did believe they knew more about the *Fourways Review* distribution area because of reading the newspaper, it would seem that in order for the newspaper to increase its connectivity to the community, it would need to provide readers with more information. One suggested way of doing this is through user-generated content. Sub-problem three will go on to explore how the journalists view their roles and attempt to account for reasons as to why *Fourways Review* is not serving the content the respondents believe it should.

4.4 Findings of the third sub-problem

The third sub-problem explores how the *Fourways Review* journalists define their roles and what pressures influence their role enactments.

4.4.1 Fourways Review's news team could be more embedded in the community

A community journalist is defined as having a strong connection with an audience (Reader 2011:5). Many community journalism studies have found that community journalists' connectedness with the communities they serve is due to their backgrounds as being both community members and journalists (Coble-Krings 2005:8). As explored for sub-problems one and two, the community members interviewed believed *Fourways Review's* journalists do not report on the core community issues and believed a reason for this is that they are not embedded in the community. In the sample of eight journalist respondents of the *Fourways Review* team, which comprises of the publication's two sub-

editors (Journalists 1 and 3); chief sub-editor (Journalist 2); group editor (Journalist 4); digital editor (Journalist 5) and journalists (Journalists 6, 7 and 8), interviewed, only Journalist 6 was both a resident in the community as well as a journalist and believed that this aided her understanding of the issues in the community. However, Journalist 4 said she grew up in the Fourways community and therefore was familiar with the places and people in the community.

Like with the explosions that we would hear from Fourways Mall and we had heard them too. Imagine if you didn't know what they were talking about, or if you didn't know the frustrations they were going through, you wouldn't be able to see the extensiveness or importance of adhering to what they are asking for (Journalist 6).

Further to not living in the *Fourways Review* distribution area, only Journalists 4 and 5 said they attended social events in the community. Journalists 6 and 7 said they would attend social events, however none of the journalist respondents attended any community or policing meetings on their own accord. They also did not attend such meetings or social events within their own communities. Journalists 4 and 7 attributed this to that they were not homeowners. Studies have noted that community journalists' involvement in their communities contributes to them not only being able to comprehend issues but to be accessible to their communities too (Coble-Krings 2005: 17). In terms of reporting on local issues in the Fourways community, all three journalists said they attended social events and community meetings in a bid to understand the issues confronting the community.

I normally attend a lot of events, launches, CPF meetings, community uplifting projects, especially in Diepsloot, to make sure that we are actually very close to the community we are serving (Journalist 8).

The journalists said they interacted with community members on a daily basis, mostly over phone calls and emails but they did meet community members face-to-face in order to understand some issues. The group editor said she interacted with the community daily and said she has many friends in the community from when she was growing up. The digital editor said her

interactions were mainly over social media platforms, emails and phone calls. “I don’t actually ever really meet them in person and so it is a little bit removed (Journalist 5).” The only feedback which the sub-editors received from the community was reading letters to the editor.

Almost on a daily basis I interact with the community members, and what normally happens is as soon as you get established, your by-line appears in the paper and so-forth, the community would quickly identify with you as one of them and they would actually be contacting you in one way or another (Journalist 8).

It would seem that the community journalism argument that “no one needed to remind reporters and editors to ‘connect’ with their communities” (Killenberg 2012:83) is not true for the *Fourways Review* staff who largely do not belong to their communities.

There was, however, a consensus among the seven staff members who do not live in *Fourways Review*’s distribution area that they were still able to understand local issues confronting the community. Journalists 1, 2, 3 and 7 believe the issues and problems confronting all communities in Johannesburg’s northern suburbs are similar and as the respondents are, or have been in the case of Journalist 3, members of the Johannesburg community, they believe they can understand the problems affecting Fourways residents, yet it was clear that they did not see themselves a “part of the Fourways community” (Journalist 1)

The stories do interest me, referring back to my community, you know I think, why can’t that happen here? But ya, we do so many stories in a day that you can’t really get involved in that community, because you are doing a Fourways story, then you are doing four Sandton stories and then you are back to a Fourways (Journalist 1).

Journalist 1 believes that as the sub-editors, chief sub-editor, digital editor and group editor edit the content for seven newspapers including *Fourways Review*, their role is not only focused on editing *Fourways Review*, which prevented a them from getting too “involved” in the community. The journalist respondents

did not see this as a negative impact on their ability to do their jobs, yet it conflicts with the key theoretical perspective of community journalism studies that the intimate relationships between communities and the newspaper set the community press apart from national or provincial newspapers (Coble-Krings 2005:9).

The group editor agreed the journalists were not as embedded in the community as she would like them to be, attributing it to the team being “new” as the journalists had been working together for six months and that their relationships with community members were “professional” but believed that in time those bonds would form. The group editor qualified that, “finding journalists that are enthusiastic and capable and willing to meet the criteria of our jobs and having them in the area is difficult but it is something that we do strive for”. That the journalists are not embedded in the newsroom is in conflict with the newsroom policy, as discovered during participant observation, which is that the journalists should be embedded in the community in a bid for them to form relationships with community members. It was found that the community journalists were not bound to work in the newsroom every day but rather were encouraged to report from the community, for example in coffee shops, and to speak to community members. During the week of participant observation, the *Fourways Review* journalists did not work in the newsroom every day, however it is unclear to what extent they used their time of working from the community to interact with community members.

I don't want them [the journalists] to sit in the office and wait for the phone to ring, I want them to be out active in their areas. All of the journalists have laptops and 3G cards in the hope that they will be in the area, talking to those people. What I say to people when I interview them is that I want you to hate going into Pick n Pay because I want people to say, “You work for the *Fourways Review* and I have a story for you.” That is my dream (Journalist 4).

The group editor's beliefs are backed by the findings of studies which have also found that community journalists who are not connected to their communities, become detached from community issues and lose credibility in their reporting,

which in turn makes the publication lose readers (Coble-Krings 2005:10). The digital editor believed not being part of the community means the journalists “are not completely invested in that community the way you are with the community that you live in.” She also believed it made journalists unbiased when reporting on issues affecting them. However, many studies, including Coble-Krings’ (2005) research, have shown that community journalists being involved in the communities they serve does not always create conflicts of interest (Coble-Krings 2005:18).

The journalists’ lack of connection to the community led both of the group editor and chief sub-editor to believe that journalists often did not understand the impact stories could have on the community (Journalist 4) and did not always comprehend the issues they were reporting on (Journalist 2).

I’m just not sure that they really personally relate to the issues that residents face. I think perhaps they are more city-orientated people than environmental (Journalist 2).

Community journalists’ misunderstanding of community problems is a common finding in community journalism and theory suggests it develops from community journalists’ lack of membership in the communities on which they report as they are unable to contextualise and comprehend the challenges confronting the community (Steiner 2012:21).

Yet Journalist 8 believed that it did not “hinder at all”.

As a journalist, you should be able to get an exclusive story, even from an area you have never been to before (Journalist 8).

However, Journalists 6 and 7, who were less experienced journalists, admitted they did not always know how to find stories in the community and often waited for community members to contact them to tell them about what was newsworthy. They also said they depended on getting information, contact details or angles from their editors before pursuing stories. According to a sub-

editor, Journalist 3, from reading the stories, she could assume 80 percent of the content was given to the journalists by editors or from the community but she did not see that evidence of content that showed the journalists were active in the community, reporting with first-hand encounters with residents. This was explained by Journalist 8 who said he had established ties in the community so that he would not actively need to search for stories and he would ask community members to “send press statements, take pictures and what-not and I would just put together a story.” The group editor called this the “user-driven” aspect of the newspaper, saying, “It has been in the history of our paper, we want to know from our readers, we want to know what they are talking about and what they want to know about it.” User-generated content is a popular characteristic of community journalism as journalists have been found to access “community-focused information” by involving the audience in gathering the information which is then processed by the journalists (Reader 2012:16). Much of the information in community newspapers is typically suggested, requested and submitted by the community members and has generated an interactive approach to journalism (Reader 2012:16). As both the participant observation and interviews revealed, the *Fourways Review* team of journalists is small to cover the wide distribution area, and therefore involving the community in sending the journalists information allows the newspaper to supplement the content which the staff produces (Reader 2012: 16). It also ensures the stories which the community thought were newsworthy were published (Reader 2012:16).

However, this lack of embeddedness, community-focused information approach also formed part of the sub-editors’ criticism of the quality and standard of work produced by the journalists. The sub-editors believed that the newsroom in which *Fourways Review* is produced is “lazy” and “a snooze-fest” (Journalist 3). They believed the journalists are not inspired to produce high quality work and have a dependency on using press releases, which Journalist 3 referred to as “dead giveaways” rather than sourcing information themselves. Journalist 3 said, “I just feel like you can see that people are dragging their feet.”

... We've lost our way and just become a community newspaper. Where is the community within this newsroom? We've got such dynamic people you know on all different levels but we need to just inspire a passion and further careers because right now, we are stumping everyone. I mean if I was to come in here as my first job I would say, "Okay, thanks, bye". But, I can see that I am still here after a year, after many things of, "Maybe should I leave?" (Journalist 3).

Journalist 2 mentioned that the newsroom is considered "a training facility" for journalists but she believed that it was not doing enough to train them and that a high standard was not required from the journalists.

I think it's the standard of the work and the amount of attention to detail and following style and using spell-check and the basics of journalism just don't seem to be very important. (Journalist 2).

The concept that community journalism newsrooms are training grounds for journalists is common among community newspapers, but a negative side of this is the "lazy newspaper" stereotype which has been long associated with the community press too (Reader 2012:9). A media critic stated in 1964 there was a trend for community newspaper editors to use stories which were not necessarily newsworthy but were used to fill the space (Reader 2012:9).

Just as the sub-editors' had criticisms of the journalists' quality of work, so too a journalist, Journalist 8, criticised the quality of the queries from the sub-editors on stories.

Most reporters are actually demoralised with the quality of the queries which are being raised to an extent that some might actually end up saying that if they send this story back and they ask me for information which doesn't make sense, I can just get rid of the story by saying that I can't get more information (Journalist 8).

Despite criticisms that *Fourways Review* is produced in a "lazy" and "demoralised" newsroom, Journalists 2 and 3 continue to see the newsroom as an opportunity to mentor journalists and for journalists to "build themselves", yet

she believed that there needed to be “more progression in their improvement” and hoped the journalists would ask for assistance when they needed it.

The group editor did not describe the newsroom as “lazy” or “demoralised”, but rather she saw the newsroom’s “weak-point” as a high staff-turn over.

People see it as a starting block to leap off into different areas, they don’t see it as a place that they can make their career and it’s a mind-set that we desperately need to change because it is a place that you can make your career (Journalist 4).

Such a criticism is not new as community journalism has been viewed as a place to gain experience (Steiner 2012:21). Such a critique was true for Journalists 5, 6 and 7 however Journalists 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 were satisfied with their job, with Journalist 8 saying he would “be comfortable in actually growing in a community newspaper.”

I do have that at the back of my mind that I would like to work for something more national (Journalist 7).

The majority of the respondents spoke of their job in terms of the craft of journalism and less about community.

I don’t know if I have a passion for the community, I’ve got a passion for stories, you know, the reading and how it reads (Journalist 1).

It would seem that the *Fourways Review* team is largely made up of “careerists without local roots” (Steiner 2012:21).

4.4.2 How the community journalists define their roles

Further to understanding how the respondents’ connectedness to the community influences how they report, this research sought to determine how the journalists define their roles in the community, as studies have found that journalists’ role definitions affect the content they produce (Edson et al

2013:539). A journalists' role conception is how they understand their role which in turn guides their behaviour (Edson et al 2013:539). This section aims to classify and define how the *Fourways Review* staff view their professional ideologies in the newsroom with dimensions of journalism culture, which is demonstrated in journalists' attitudes, values and practices (Hanitzsch 2007:369).

The research found that Journalists 6, 7 and 8 favoured an approach to reporting in which they were passive, detached observers who did not set agendas, advocate issues or influence the community's opinions. The journalists saw themselves as "message bearers" (Journalist 6).

My role is to simply inform, educate and entertain as a mirror by actually making sure that stories that are supposed to be shared with the readers, are correctly represented in the paper (Journalist 8).

This is a traditional trait of the practice of journalism, also referred to as shared occupational ideologies, which is rooted in objective, immediate and accurate reporting; providing a public service; upholding independence, validity and legitimacy (Hanitzsch 2007:367). It is argued that the conceptualisation of such traits of journalism is influenced by a western understanding of news-making (Hanitzsch 2007:367). The sub-editors also conceived their roles as monitors of the content and as neutral gatekeepers who uphold objectivity and separate fact and opinion (Hanitzsch 2007:371).

However, on the opposite side of the scale, the group editor believed that the newspaper could be socially-driven to advocate issues and even participate in the advocacy process (Hanitzsch 2007:372).

If it matters to the residents, it matters to us, and it is something that we can pick up and fight for on their behalf (Journalist 4).

Journalists 4 and 5 believed that the *Fourways Review* journalists had a role to play in helping to solve the community's problems.

If a reader has got a problem with a pothole, they [the journalists] shouldn't just fob it off and say well go and report it to the City of Joburg, not every resident knows how to do that so our journalists should be saying this is your ward councillor's name and if you don't know how to report it, I can take you through that process, this is the number that you need to call. It shouldn't be that just go away and when you don't have answers after two weeks, come and I'll report it (Journalist 4).

As explored for sub-problem one, some community members interviewed hoped the newspaper would be a problem solver in the community and take a stand on issues in the community. While civic activism is not a popular approach to community journalism, it is not unheard of for a community newspaper to expose, attack and put pressure on officials to solve a community problem (Killenberg 2012:84). Journalist 4 was the only respondent who cited this role of the community journalists.

It was clear that the journalist respondents favoured reporting with a commitment to the community (Ferrucci 2015:109). There was consensus among the journalist respondents that they aimed for the journalism they produced to help to guide and inform the community of every day happenings and act in a bid for their journalism to serve the community with news they need to know (Hanitzsch 2007:376).

Journalists 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8 valued stories which had an impact on a wide community in determining the newsworthiness of stories. The journalist respondents believed that incidents that were reported on needed to have "a bearing on the lives of the people you are writing about or who are in that area" (Journalist 8) and should have "a lot of comment from the community" (Journalist 4).

The story's got to be of interest of everybody, not just one household that's having a problem with something. ...you've got to be careful that people want to put their little problems forward, you know, whatever their little problem is (Journalist 1).

This research found that many of the respondents would consider what they believed the community needed to read in order to make decisions.

You would also know what would be of interest to people in Diepsloot, which is the area that we cover, so you look at what excites your readers and that's what you go from, not necessarily what you as journalist [think] (Journalist 8).

Journalists 2, 4, 5 and 6 took the civic approach to journalism a step further by considering what they would like to read in the newspaper when considering the newsworthiness of a story.

I think that's part of my job, which I think I am able to do with most of the publications and I think that's the role of a sub (Journalist 2).

Journalist 4 said she considered, "Do I need to know about that and if the answer is yes, then the majority of the time then the community also needs to know about it." Journalist 6 said the group editor taught her to think of the newsworthiness of stories in terms of, "Would I want to read about that? Is it important to me? If it's not important, I walk past." This is in line with the theoretical perspective that journalism which is produced with a commitment to the public has a common association to news that community members can use (Hanitzsch 2007: 379). It is interesting that even the *Fourways Review* staff members who were not Fourways community members believed that they knew what the readers needed to know. The findings also show that the respondents believed they could remain impartial in their reporting despite using their own opinions on what was newsworthy for the community to know (Hanusch 2008:104). For example, Journalist 4 said she would not want to read about pets for adoption, yet she knew it was of interest to the Fourways community and therefore encouraged such content in the newspaper. The respondents therefore believed the newspaper could report in such a way as to serve the public (Hanitzsch 2007: 379). Journalists 6, 7 and 8 wanted to ensure that the *Fourways Review* brand was visible in the community so that it would be

“recognised by the community” (Journalist 7) and so that “the community would be able to identify us with them” (Journalist 8).

In contrast to the community-oriented (Hanusch 2008) approach to reporting, the two editors also conceived their roles in terms of providing the community with information that the audience want to read as opposed to what they needed to know. This is known as a market-oriented approach to reporting (Hanitzsch 2007:375). Journalist 4 believed the journalists should view their role as assisting readers with their problems by thinking of them as “clients” who they were serving. Journalism which addresses audiences as clients and consumers is journalism which is largely driven by ratings and a profit-driven mentality; and it is characterised by giving readers what they want to read as opposed to what they should know in order to be free and self-governing (Hanitzsch 2007:375). Evidence of this was further seen by Journalist 5 who conceived newsworthy stories in terms of “the stories that do well on *Fourways Review*” which she later clarified was in terms of the online statistics of how many page-views each story received. She therefore determined the newsworthiness of stories in terms of what she believed the audience wanted to know in deciding which stories to report on, thereby conceiving of a market-driven approach to reporting. Participant observation in the newsroom further revealed that there was a drive to break news first and the discourse was more around getting the most number of page-views rather than on telling the community members what they need to know.

As these role conceptions are conflicting, it is necessary to determine what pressures influence how the journalist respondents’ conceived roles are enacted.

4.4.3 Various pressures influence news production

The enactment of a conceived role is not linear but rather a negotiation between the journalists’ role conceptions and the conflicting normative expectations that are shaped by other influences, for example by the media organisation or

community (Edson et al 2013:539). This research found that *Fourways Review* staff's conceived roles of community-oriented reporting (Hanusch 2008:102) are not always the roles that they enacted in the community, as two pressures impact how they report.

Your role does change from what you thought the ideal role as a journalist was (Journalist 5).

The journalist respondents pointed out that one of these pressures was exerted by advertisers. Journalist 2 said the community newspaper had to “consider advertisers because I mean we do have to bring in revenue”. This consideration was experienced first-hand during participant observation during the production of *Fourways Review* in the newsroom as advertisements, even those advertisements which were booked after the deadline had passed, were inserted into the newspaper at the expense of the local news content. This meant that if the placement of an advertisement conflicted with the placement of the local news content, then the local news content was removed in order to place the advertisement. This example would suggest that the production of news is influenced by the sales department, and therefore the need for profits influences the newspaper's content. This indicates that the community newspaper takes a market-oriented approach to journalism which is found to be stronger when advertising is considered as vital to a newspaper (Ferrucci 2015:111), as Journalist 2 suggested.

However, despite Journalist 2's belief in the importance of advertisers, she said that the community newspaper did need to report on stories which were affecting the community. She said the newspaper should report such stories “without overly sensationalising it, not being overly dramatic”. This was echoed by Journalist 4 who said, “I do think that you need to be fair when publishing those stories.”

So, for example, the shopping centres, so when a crime happens, in the past we would never have thought of contacting that shopping centre to say a crime has happened in your centre, do you want to have a

comment on it? But, what the advertising reps and manager brought to my attention is that it is their brand and so now we have a policy that whenever a shopping centre is mentioned, we do get a comment from them (Journalist 4).

A South African researcher believes it is necessary to study to what extent corporate involvement in community media is compatible with the ethos of community journalism, such as in the cases where large commercial media, like the Caxton & CTP newspaper group, has set up community media enterprises (Berger 2012:195). The interviews with the community journalists reveal that the journalists feel pressurised to enact market-oriented approaches. This means that the journalists give the audience what they want, in this case reporting in a way to maintain relationships with advertisers, at the expense of what they should know (Hanitzsch 2007:375). In many cases, this includes over-sensationalising reports (Gade 2008), however in the case of *Fourways Review*, the journalist respondents aimed to moderate the reporting in order to keep advertisers happy. The need to consider advertisers before publishing stories is not a common consideration of the community press, as it is thought that the profit motive of news is replaced by the caring relationship between the community newspaper and community (Coble-Krings 2005:10). However, it is recognised that the conception of putting the community's interest ahead of maximising profits may not be sustainable and is therefore considered to be the weakness in community journalism (Altschull 1996:171). It is this challenge of community journalism which has made South African researchers consider that community journalism should be owned and controlled by civil society and not by businesses (Berger 2012:195).

A political economy critique is a useful approach in understanding the contradiction that is present in South African community journalism, which is that while alternative media should serve as a third voice between the state and commercial enterprises (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131), media products need to be financed (Daniels 2014:64). As discussed in the literature review section of this research, the South African media landscape is dominated by four media houses, one of which is Caxton & CTP (Daniels 2014:64). Smaller independent

publishers are affiliated to the Association of Independent Publishers and aided by public bodies such as Media Development and Diversity Agency (Daniels 2014:64), which, as described in the literature review, is financially sustained through government grants, mainstream media and the private sector (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). It is therefore argued that the financing of community journalism in South Africa could compromise the ethos of community journalism as the third voice between the state and the market as the funding models could subject the content to interference by the state or to commercial pressures, making the content market-oriented (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). The latter applies to *Fourways Review*, which is owned and distributed by Caxton & CTP. It would appear that the journalist respondents in this research classify *Fourways Review* as a highly-capitalised, commercial product which is reliant on the sale of advertisements sourced by a sales team (Hyde-Clarke 2010:131). The journalist respondents indicate that the commercialisation influence has impacted *Fourways Review's* ability to fully fulfil the role of the voice of the community (Hyde-Clarke 2010:132). Therefore, applying a political economy critique to the research findings reveals that the pressure of commercialising *Fourways Review* as a product that is supported economically by advertising revenue, does in fact conflict with the ethos of alternative media as a de-capitalised media product (Atton & Hamilton 2008:25). This finding elicits a general political-economic dilemma as while economic resources are needed in order for community journalism to operate, such capitalisation of a media product may subject it to pressures inflicted by advertisers (Atton & Hamilton 2008:25).

Evidence of the *Fourways Review* staff members' feeling of obligation to contact the owners of stores and shopping centres, who are either advertisers or potential advertisers, was witnessed during participant observation in the *Fourways Review* newsroom. The team found out about a story of an alleged robbery at a restaurant of a fast food franchise and they put the need to contact the public relations officer for the restaurant ahead of the need to publish a story warning of the alleged incident in order to keep the community members safe. Further, it was found that the team put the need to obtain comment from the fast

food restaurant even before obtaining comment from police on the alleged incident. When the public relations officer was not available, the team still ran with the story. Later that day, the restaurant's public relations officer put pressure on the team to remove the name of the restaurant after it was found that the robbery did not take place inside the store. This example demonstrates the advertising pressure that confronts the *Fourways Review* team and how sensitive the team is to ensuring that they do not create bad images for brands as they believed that this could influence advertisers or potential advertisers to retract their advertising contracts with the media house. The need to think of advertisers before publishing stories is a trait that Journalists 6, 7 and 8 did not conceive as their roles, however said it is a role that they enacted, yet not without criticism. Journalist 5 criticised it for slowing down their ability to break news first in the community on their website.

...whereas other news agencies don't and sometimes they get the story out faster because they don't contact the shopping centre first (Journalist 5).

Further, Journalist 5 believed thinking of advertisers before publishing stories impacted how the journalists reported on such stories.

I think also with the journalists being aware of those pressures, how a difficult story will change from being a really in-depth interesting story to being very wishy-washy because you can't name that person or you can't name that business, it becomes very much a he-said; she-said story. So, I think journalists sometimes write the story that way to begin with or sometimes even abandoned stories because they know it's going to be a difficult story and it's not going to make it onto the page the way they envisioned it so, I do think that a lot of stories do get rather abandoned rather than followed up on (Journalist 5).

Studies have shown that the "duality" of news organisations as both enterprises for journalism and commerce creates a tension of conflicting values of both practices (Gade 2008:372). This was further demonstrated by Journalists 1, 3 and 7 who believed they were influenced to publish advertorial content in the editorial section of the newspaper.

Sometimes you really feel that you are their PR machines (Journalist 7).

I feel like we are pressurised to have content that we ourselves are not even confident in publishing but because a client says so and because we need the money ... it should be labelled as an advertorial because do we stand by that content, no (Journalist 3).

These points were however disputed by the group editor who believed that despite pressures from advertisers, news values were considered before publishing stories. However Journalist 5 said in most cases such pressure was exerted by “the higher-ups”, which she described as the branch manager and CEO, and so it was often not a decision that was even taken by the newsroom. The inter-departmental influence on the newsroom is not a finding that is particular to this research but rather a trend in journalism which arose in the mid-1990s, originating from the integration of news organisations so that the newsrooms were not isolated from business interests (Ferrucci 2015:372). Journalists 5 and 6 both recalled incidents where they had to withhold the names of places due to advertising pressure, a pressure which Journalist 5 felt arose on a daily basis. Journalist 5 also recalled an incident in which the newspaper had to print an apology to an advertiser after publishing a story of an assault at a shopping centre. Although she said in the original story, they had not mentioned the name of the shopping centre, the advertiser argued that the centre was implicated by the article naming the location.

I felt that by printing the apology we admitted blame where we actually didn't have any blame (Journalist 5).

These respondents show that *Fourways Review* subsides to advertising pressures as the staff are influenced to report in such a way to appease advertisers, and potential advertisers, which is the definition of a market-oriented newsroom (Ferrucci 2015:109). In contradiction to the respondents' conceived roles as considering news which would impact the communities, it was found that the advertising pressure of the newsroom's market-oriented function impacts their role enactments (Ferrucci 2015:109). Profits are therefore

prioritised over the commitment to the community in some stories (Ferrucci 2015:109).

Another feature of market-oriented journalism is to give audiences what they want to read at the expense of what they should know to be free and self-governing (Hanitzsch 2007:375). This research also found that despite the journalist respondents' community-oriented conceived roles, Journalists 4, 5 and 6 revealed that they believed the pressure exerted by the community did influence the way in which the journalists reported on stories. The sub-editors were less inclined to be confronted by pressures from the community members.

I always laugh at people when I employ them on *Fourways Review* and say that the people of Fourways believe that this is their paper, they are our bosses and they really do hold you accountable and I think that's great, I think that's the way it is meant to be (Journalist 4).

This may be the reason why Journalist 4 conceived of the journalists' roles as considering the community members as "clients". The pressure exerted by community members on the content in community press is not particular to *Fourways Review*, but rather it is known as newspapers' "sacred cows": topics or people that should be handled carefully (Coble-Krings 2005:8). The trait of exercising caution in publishing information on people or topics is not new, as in 1937, William Allen White wrote, "If an editor is honest he is bound to offend someone every day of his life," (Coble-Krings 2005:8). The pressure is also not particular to community journalism (Coble-Krings 2005:8), however, the "connectedness" between the journalists and community members could increase the journalists' accountability for the stories that they publish (Reader 2012:6). The accountability felt by the respondents was in terms of maintaining relationships between the community members and the newspaper in the way in which stories were reported. Journalist 5 said she sometimes reported on stories only so as to nurture the relationship between the community member and newspaper, even though she was cautious not to seem "intimidated by them [community members] into doing a story which you believe isn't newsworthy." Journalist 6 viewed her role as having "to please" community

members and described how a community member sent her a message at midnight to put pressure on her to report on a story which he believed needed to be published. Both Journalists 7 and 8 said they felt pressured by community members who had established relationships with the newspaper and who would try to intimidate them into publishing stories by claiming to know their editors.

You get people who are pushy, but they don't know the news editor, group editor or the boss of Caxton but sometimes their stuff doesn't make it on the paper because they don't have those ties (Journalist 7).

Journalist 7 said she would prioritise the stories of the “pushy” community members so as not to get into trouble with her editors and so as not to damage relationships which had been established in the newsroom. This was seconded by Journalist 5.

So, my reasoning is so that they keep coming back with stories, that's one. Also, just in making it easier to move within the community and speaking to different community members, I feel like if it is very influential community members they could block that contact with other people in the community. And three is, you do feel a little bit worried that if you don't give them what they want they're going to phone your news editor or editor-in-chief or go higher and I think that does make you a little bit worried as a journalist (Journalist 5).

Just as Journalist 5 believed the pressure on the newsroom to subside to advertising influences was inflicted by the managers in the company, so too she was influenced to subside to community pressures when reporting as it was how she had often seen conflicts resolved by the group editor, branch manager and the CEO of the company. She provided an example of how after a community member was angered that *Fourways Review* wrote a story which suggested that parents take their children to a petting zoo as a holiday activity, the company's CEO told the group editor that the newspaper must quote the complainant in a story on animals in captivity.

I think yes, it was a good story and we did it but I didn't appreciate being told that we had to do it in response to this article because we didn't do anything wrong by publishing that article (Journalist 5).

Journalist 5 also found that the sub-editors and editors influenced how stories were written “so as not to anger this community member”. She said that despite a policy in the newsroom to not allow residents to see what was written before a story is sent to press, often the community members pressured journalists to show them the story and the journalists ended up “adjusting it to what the community member says”.

The journalist respondents believed that the pressure exerted by the community members did not only hold them to account but could, and did, prevent them from reporting stories which would affect the community members. Journalists 4, 5 and 7 recalled stories where the community had pressurised them into withholding or retracting a story. Journalist 4 recalled withholding a story written by Journalist 8, which was recorded as part of the participant observation in the newsroom, about a mother’s allegation that a school mistreated her son by a teacher smacking him and withholding his pudding. During participant observation it was found that Journalist 8 was aware that the school would put pressure on him to report the story in a certain way. He said he did not want to use a written statement from the school on the incident, believing that the school “spin-doctored” their response as part of a publicity campaign. However, in this instance, the decision to protect the school was made by the group editor who withheld the story, believing it would negatively impact the school.

That school would have hated us and they would have been hugely affected by that article and I didn’t think that was worth it (Journalist 4).

The research shows that the trait of community journalism to be connected or “near” to the community members, has impacted the content in terms of the community journalists feeling accountable for the community (Reader 2012:6). While such a trait has been criticised by some researchers for turning community journalism into “booster” press which only reports on positive stories, it has been argued that it is an obligatory role for a community journalist to exercise good judgement when reporting (Reader 2012:6). Founding

community journalism scholar Byerly (1961) said, “It does not mean the paper must cover up anything. It simply means that the whole truth should be the constructive truth – not the petty palaver,” (Reader 2012:6).

4.4.4 Pressures on news production influence over-sensitive reporting

The journalist respondents’ awareness of the impact and affects which stories might have on the community and advertising sector influenced them to report in certain ways that led them to believe that the newspaper reported with caution and sensitivity, with some respondents believing the newspaper reported in an over-sensitive style.

I think sometimes, we are a bit oversensitive, I think, but maybe we should be. You know, we try to tread lightly (Journalist 1).

This criticism was also raised by community members interviewed in response to sub-problem one. The respondents believed “Fourways is a very sensitive community,” (Journalist 4) and therefore aimed to protect community members from seeing gruesome images, did not over-sensationalise stories (Journalist 2) and ensured their reporting did not marginalise certain sectors (Journalists 1 and 2). The newsroom staff seemed unanimous in the decision to report in a sensitive style, apart from Journalist 5 who believed it was to the newspaper’s “detriment” at times. She had experiences of when national and provincial publications used information which *Fourways Review*’s staff refused to publish, which in turn meant the newspaper was not providing the community with all the news that it needed. Journalist 5’s critique mirrors the stance taken by critics of the close connection between community members and journalists in community journalism, which is that such closeness would lead the press to report with timidity and this would threaten journalistic independence (Reader 2012:8). However, such debate has been countered by those who believe that it is the role of community journalism to have more concern for the effects stories can have on individual community members rather than using standard journalism practices (Reader 2012: 9).

4.4.5 Journalist respondents aim to build the community through feel-good and crime stories

The types of content the journalist respondents said they reported on was crime, environmental issues, animal welfare stories and write-ups on events which often included social photos of attendees. The journalist respondents tried to strike a balance between reporting crime and good news stories (Journalists 3 and 6).

It's not about picking up the paper and feeling depressed (Journalist 3).

The journalist respondents also described the newspaper as the only platform for community issues, “a community notice board” (Journalist 5), “mouthpiece of the community” (Journalist 4) “more effective than a newsletter” (Journalist 4) and “your local rag, it's everything that you need to know about your area” (Journalist 4). However, just as the community members interviewed said they did not believe *Fourways Review* provided enough information on upcoming events, Journalist 6 also believed *Fourways Review* was not adequately fulfilling this role, bringing to question to what extent it was fulfilling the role of a community notice board. Journalist 5 further believed that journalists could profile more community organisations and prominent community members to inform the community instead of publishing as many photographs that were published as she did not think that was something that she would want to see in the newspaper. Journalists 2 and 5 mentioned their support for the drive in the newspaper to the publication's online platforms in order to direct community members to more information and believed the comments section online enabled community members to share their stories with the team. Community journalism is considered as a record of mundane, often predictable, matters which may not fit the description of what is conventionally considered newsworthy, yet they are matters which interest local residents on a regular basis (Kitch 2012:238). The survival of community journalism reporting on such

matters showcases a need for journalism of place, which aids readers in defining their social identity on shared beliefs and interests (Kitch 2012:238).

The journalist respondents' focus on producing feel-good stories for the newspaper could develop as a result of many of the journalist respondents (Journalists 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8) believing the newspaper needed to "benefit the community", "to build it up" (Journalist 1) and uplift the community through informing and educating readers (Journalist 3).

I think also part of a community newspaper's role is to encourage the feeling of community and so, rather than create splits, it's more about trying to create connections and bridges to build community (Journalist 2).

Yet for Journalist 2, reporting in this manner called into question whether there were "stories of terrible bitterness which we don't get". A community journalist is faced with a challenge to build a discourse to involve all groups in a community (Hatcher 2013:50). This has been found to be a particularly testing task in South Africa where there is a challenge of providing content for and communicating with both privileged and marginalised groups in communities (Hatcher 2013:50). Journalist 4 said the journalists tended to focus on "big areas" and one of those neglected areas was believed by Journalist 2 to be informal settlements. Journalist 4 clarified that *Fourways Review* was not distributed in or intended for the local township community, yet she also believed the newspaper could give it a voice. However, Journalists 5 and 8 found the less affluent community members often did not have a means or knowledge of how to approach the newspaper with their news.

...the issue of media exposure, the issue of freedom of expression, it may be available but people may not have the capacity and the resources to access it (Journalist 8).

The respondents' desire for *Fourways Review* to promote an inclusive community was found by a recent study to be a trait of community journalism in South Africa, as it has been found that despite sharing a geographic region,

South African communities do not share a sense of place because the landscape between the affluent and marginalised are different (Hatcher 2013:61). As this research found, there are obstacles that confront the ability to inform and encourage citizens to contribute to the production of news and ways in which to include the community in this process is necessary in order for the journalism to build an inclusive community (Hatcher 2013:61). This is not a problem that is only confronting the community to which *Fourways Review* is distributed, but has been found throughout South Africa (Hatcher 2013:61). The findings of this research do however imply that there is a need for *Fourways Review* to not only build social networks, which are also referred to as social capital (Putnam 1995), among the community members but to also create a discourse to link community members of the *Fourways Review* distribution area and the local township. This is bridging social capital (Hatcher 2013:51).

4.4.6 Conclusion of the findings of sub-problem three

This section has demonstrated that while the majority of the journalist respondents interviewed were not part of the Fourways community and often did not understand the issues affecting the community, they largely conceived their roles as reporting information which the community needed in order to make decisions in the community. This is a community-oriented approach to reporting. However, the journalist respondents revealed that there was a mismatch in their role conceptions and enactments (Edson et al 2012) as they were influenced to report in such a way that appeased advertisers and community members. It was therefore found that the respondents were influenced to report with a market-oriented approach to journalism (Hanitzsch 2007). Such an approach made the journalist respondents critical that their reports were sometimes weak and their reporting was over-sensitive. The type of stories that they reported were largely feel-good and crime tips which they used to try to build the community, yet they found that it was a challenge to report stories which were inclusive of all community members, yet this is a

challenged found in many community journalism houses around the country (Hatcher 2013:61).

4.5 Conclusion

The exploration of the data collected for each of the three sub-problems in this chapter has found relationships between the findings within the sub-problems as well as across all three sub-problems. In doing so, it has revealed that some of the factors which affect the respondents' reception of *Fourways Review* are a result of pressures confronting the community journalists' production of the news. This conclusion will describe the relationships between the findings of the data.

The research has determined that the 30 community members interviewed accept *Fourways Review* as a provider of reliable, local news which contributes to their sense of belonging to the *Fourways Review* distribution area. The *Fourways Review* staff interviewed essentially conceive of their roles as providing information which the community members need to know. This is a community-oriented approach to reporting (Hanusch 2008:101). This research showed that the community member respondents' expectations of *Fourways Review* were often similar to how the community journalists' defined their roles. One example is that the community journalists and community members wanted *Fourways Review* to report with a commitment to the community (Ferrucci 2015:109) in order to provide them with the information that they need to be free and self-governing (Hanitzsch 2007:374). However, the research found that the *Fourways Review* news team was often influenced by advertising, community and inter-departmental pressures which affected how they produced news. The *Fourways Review* staff members said these pressures affected how they enacted their roles and were in conflict with their community-oriented approach to reporting. The finding that the *Fourways Review* staff members' role conceptions and enactments were not linear has been found in previous studies (Edson et al 2013:552). While it is not the aim of

this research to measure the differences between role conception and enactment, the finding is significant to consider as it shows that the pressures which the community journalists described are strong enough to affect their approach to producing news.

The *Fourways Review* respondents said they felt pressured to report in such a way as to satisfy the advertisers and community members in order to retain them as clients and readers respectively. This seemed to be influenced by inter-departmental pressures. It was therefore evident that the *Fourways Review* respondents enact a market-driven approach to reporting (Ferrucci 2015:110). Many of the community members who were interviewed also saw the publication as a commercialised product. This finding indicates that the ways in which the *Fourways Review* team enacts their roles impacts how the community members interviewed receive the publication.

The community members interviewed accept *Fourways Review* as a provider of feel-good stories (which consisted of community members helping others, community members' achievements and post-publicity on events or positive news) and information on crime and security tips in the community. The community members believed that the feel-good news and security information were useful in building up the community and enabled them to get to know other community members and their achievements. The community members' interest in the area and the decisions that they needed to make in the community comprised as the reasons why the majority of the respondents said they read *Fourways Review* every week. There were 28 of the 30 respondents who felt an emotional attachment to their suburb within the *Fourways Review* distribution area, although they largely found that the suburbs of communities were apathetic. *Fourways Review* therefore provides them with information on community life without them having to leave their homes. This contributed to 23 of the community member respondents saying they believe that reading the newspaper helps them to feel a sense of belonging to the community. However, the community member respondents criticised *Fourways Review* for not

providing enough information on the happenings in the community. The respondents believed that *Fourways Review* should report more stories on municipal news, upcoming events in the area and core issues affecting the community. This finding demonstrated that *Fourways Review* falls short of serving the community with local news and information about community life which they need to navigate the community (Reader 2012:6).

Fourways Review is distributed to a constructed community of suburbs, demarcated by its parent company, Caxton & CTP for the division of Caxton Local Newspapers. The community member respondents said that when they considered where their community was, they thought of their own suburb and some of the regular routes they travel such as to their children's schools or work. The community member respondents did not consider the constructed *Fourways Review* distribution area to be part of their community. The community member respondents and the group editor believed that a reason for the community members' lack of identification with the *Fourways Review* distribution area as a community was that the community newspaper did not represent enough of the news throughout the distribution area. It was said that the community newspaper often focused on the news in some of the suburbs over others. This reveals that *Fourways Review* is not adequately fulfilling the responsibility of a community newspaper to represent, reinforce and construct the notion of community among community members (Steiner 2012:21). The community members suggested that in order to promote a sense of community among all of the suburbs with the newspaper's distribution area, *Fourways Review* should report more news; promote community involvement by tackling issues on behalf of the community (a role conceived by the group editor but not enacted); and on the feats of black people and elderly people. The community members also wanted *Fourways Review* to fulfil a friendly neighbour role by reporting with the characteristics of explaining issues and providing solutions to community problems.

The research further found that the community members believed *Fourways Review* should report more stories on the nearby township. The implications of these suggestions are that there is a need for *Fourways Review* to report in such a way as to enhance the social networks, referred to as social capital, between community members (Putnam 1995:66). The suggestions that *Fourways Review* should report more news and promote involvement demonstrate a need for the community newspaper to build up and maintain the social networks in the community (Putnam 1995:66). This is referred to as bonding social capital and aims to mobilise the solidarity of the community (Hatcher 2013:51). Further, the suggestion that *Fourways Review* should report more news on the nearby township was also mentioned by the *Fourways Review* staff members who believed it was important to report more news on the local township even though the township is not part of the newspaper's distribution area. The need to report news on the township for the community members within the distribution area implies the need for the community newspaper to link the community members of the *Fourways Review* distribution area with those of the township. This is considered as bridging social capital (Hatcher 2013:51). As described in the second chapter of this research, a recent study found that South African communities are affected by the complex composition of the country whereby affluent areas were a short distance away from low-income areas (Hatcher 2013:55). The *Fourways Review* community journalists found it a challenge to access the township's community members, believing the residents did not always have the means to share their news with the community newspaper. The findings of this research corroborate the suggestion that South African community journalism needs to foster a discourse that will not only build the social networks among community members as well as to strengthen ties between community members through a form of bridging capital (Hatcher 2013:51).

The community members interviewed said the newspaper should report more core community issues; school news; municipal issues; and upcoming community events. The community members also believed the newspaper

should investigate issues instead of only reporting only the facts of what happened. The lack of reporting in these areas also forced the community members to have a higher dependency on their social bonds and personal experiences than on the community newspaper in order to find out what was happening in the community. Therefore, the lack of content reported, as pointed out by the respondents, not only neglects to provide them with the information they need to build their social bonds, personal experiences and emotional attachment (Stamm 1988:357), but it also affects how they use the newspaper. As an accepted platform in the community, *Fourways Review* has the ability to promote community involvement, and thereby promote the readers' attachment to the area (Demers 1996), but the publication's lack of content forces community members to rely on their own social bonds and personal experiences to navigate the community. The respondents are therefore not dependent on the community newspaper, however, when the newspaper publishes interesting information, the community members share that information with other community members. This corroborates the findings of previous research that the media benefits when a community has strong social bonds (Demers 1996:306).

The research found criticism among the *Fourways Review* sub-editors and editors that the journalists did not always understand the issues affecting the community or the impact the stories could have on community members. A reason for this was that only one of the journalists interviewed was a member of the community, and while the editors and sub-editors were also not members of the community, they believed they could relate to the issues better than the journalists. The lack of the team's embeddedness in the community conflicts with the key trait of community journalism as being strongly connected to the community (Reader 2012). The sub-editors further believed that the community journalists' lack of embeddedness and lack of comprehension of the community's news meant that the journalists waited for press releases instead of sourcing news themselves. While the group editor was in support of the community members sending their news to the community journalists, in what

she termed as user-generated content, the sub-editors criticised the community journalists' dependency on being sent the news rather than going into the community to find the news. The sub-editors believed this indicated lazy reporting. Some of the community member respondents also believed the journalists' lack of connection with the community indicated lazy reporting. The *Fourways Review* team's dependency on being sent information was a further indication of the publication's market-driven approach to reporting. Journalist 7 demonstrated this as she said the press releases helped her to know what the community thought was newsworthy. The criticisms of the journalists' lack of embeddedness in the community feed a common stereotype of community journalists being careerists without local roots (Steiner 2012:21). While not all of the *Fourways Review* respondents have aspirations to build their careers, it was found that only the group editor and one journalist felt connected to the community.

The community member and *Fourways Review* staff member respondents criticised *Fourways Review*'s conservative reporting style, with some of the *Fourways Review* staff members saying the reporting was "over-sensitive" at times. This style of reporting was found to be due to pressures inflicted by advertisers, community members and from managers both within and outside the newsroom. An example of the results of pressure inflicted by a potential advertiser was witnessed during participant observation when a public relations officer put pressure on the news team to remove the name of a fast food restaurant after it was found that a robbery took place outside and not inside the store as initially reported. This market-driven approach to reporting was found to affect how the journalists reported the news and therefore the influence of this approach on the content was found to be the main attributor to how *Fourways Review* did not meet the community members' expectations of a community newspaper and affected how they used the newspaper. The core finding of this research is therefore that *Fourways Review* needs to be more connected to the community and to report more community-minded news, as stated in the definition of community journalism on which this research is built (Reader 2012;

Lauterer 2006). This is in order to meet the community members' expectations, help them to use the community newspaper to navigate the community and to enable the community journalists to fulfil the roles that they want to fulfil in producing news.

In the next chapter, the research will conclude the findings by relating them to each of the research questions posed by this research, determine the validity of the assumptions as set out in the first chapter, describe the limitations of the research and recommend future research studies in this field.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The research problem under study is set out as an exploration of the extent to which the community newspaper *Fourways Review* is meeting the Fourways community's expectations of a community newspaper by employing qualitative data collection and analysis techniques to conduct face-to-face interviews with 30 community members and eight *Fourways Review* staff members as well as participant observation in the *Fourways Review* newsroom. The collected data was analysed using a constant comparative technique.

To address this research problem, the research set the following three sub-problems:

- Explore to what extent *Fourways Review* fulfils the community's expectations of a community newspaper.
- Explore how the Fourways community members use *Fourways Review* to navigate the Fourways community.
- Explore how the *Fourways Review* journalists define and enact their roles in the community.

Related to the outlined sub-problems, the research aimed to answer the following nine research questions:

5.1.1 Research questions for sub-problem one

- What does the Fourways community expect to read in *Fourways Review*?
- To what extent is *Fourways Review* meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper?

- How could *Fourways Review* meet the community members' expectations better?

5.1.2 Research questions for sub-problem two

- How do the respondents use *Fourways Review* to navigate the community?
- To what extent do the Fourways community members depend on the newspaper to navigate the community as opposed to depending on their social bonds in the community to find out what is happening?
- How could *Fourways Review* assist the community members better in order to provide news that they need to navigate the community and know what was happening?

5.1.3 Research questions for sub-problem three

- How do *Fourways Review*'s journalists conceive of their roles?
- What pressures influence the community journalists' role enactments in the community?
- How satisfied are the community journalists with the content produced in *Fourways Review*?

The research was structured around the three sub-problems and subsequent research questions in order to review previous similar studies, describe the methods of this research and explore the findings.

5.2 Chapter outline

Chapter one described how the research problem was formed after discussions with a *Fourways Review* staff member revealed that residents would often show their disgruntlement to the *Fourways Review* journalists and editors when the community newspaper did not report on their issues in the way which they

expected or hoped it would. The research problem was formed around the dilemma that the community newspaper was thought to not always play the role in the community which readers expected or wanted it to play. The chapter also set out the three sub-problems of the research problem and the subsequent nine research questions. The potential limitations and assumptions were also described.

Chapter two reviewed the literature of previous studies and theories which related to the research problem and sub-problems. First, the literature review contextualised the research problem by reviewing sociological studies into the relationship between community newspapers and the communities which they serve. Previous studies had shown that understanding such a relationship is vital in community journalism studies as the intimate relations shared between the community journalists and community defines community journalism (Rosenberry 2012:25). The review described how studies into this relationship progressed to consider why community members read local news and how they used it in the community. This provided the background literature for the second sub-problem. The literature on what a community expects of local news was further reviewed, but it was found that studies on this topic are scarce and that the majority were found to have been conducted in the United States. This limited the review of literature in this section but also demonstrated the need for more of such studies, and as the studies reviewed suggested that studying a community's expectations of local media is essential in maintaining readership (Heider et al 2005), the need for this research became apparent. The research found extensive studies on how community journalists view their role in society in order to explore what community journalists and editors considered as newsworthy, how accountable they felt towards their communities in terms how the produced content may affect their readers (Rosenberry 2012:35). It was found that recent studies aim to determine how the community journalists' conceived roles affect their decision-making and to what extent they enacted their conceived roles (Edson et al 2013:511). This literature formed the basis of

the third sub-problem. The literature pointed out the methods employed in the studies and described which research approaches would be employed.

The third chapter described how the data would be collected and analysed for the research, and pointed out how these methods were chosen from the literature reviewed in chapter two. Qualitative data collection and analysis techniques were used. For the first sub-problem, 30 community members were chosen using a snowball sampling method and face-to-face interviews were conducted. The research also conducted face-to-face interviews with a convenient sample of the eight *Fourways Review* staff members. This qualitative data was then transcribed using an inductive method to group the data into meaningful categories and analysed through a four-step constant comparative technique. The results were then summarised into an explanation which drew on theory as discussed in chapter four. Field observation in the form of participant observation, was further conducted for one working week in the *Fourways Review* newsroom, and analysed using a constant comparative technique in an attempt to verify the participants' behaviour in the newsroom with their verbal assertions in the face-to-face interviews (Tharenou et al 2007:136).

The findings of the research were explored in chapter four and structured around the three sub-problems so that each sub-problem was considered in turn. The findings of the face-to-face interviews with the community members were explored for sub-problems one and two, while the findings of the face-to-face interviews with the *Fourways Review* news team were explored for sub-problem three. The exploration of the participant observation findings were considered for the first and third sub-problems.

Chapter five now relates the interpretations of the research findings to answer each research question in turn.

5.3 Findings of the research questions

5.3.1 *Findings of research question one: How is Fourways Review fulfilling the community's expectations?*

This research has found that the 30 respondents interviewed accept *Fourways Review* as a community newspaper and anticipate its arrival on their doorsteps every Wednesday. There were 21 of the 30 respondents who strongly identify with *Fourways Review* and associate with the publication as being “their” newspaper. The respondents read the newspaper for local information on the community life, which is a key role of community journalism (Reader 2012:5). They read *Fourways Review* for information on what is happening in the community, what other community members are doing and to form business contacts. This research found that the respondents acknowledged *Fourways Review* as a provider of positive news stories regarding community life, which they termed as feel-good stories, and information on crime, most notably for security tips to keep them safe. The finding that the respondents view *Fourways Review* as a provider of good news and information to keep them safe showcases that the respondents view the newspaper as a “good neighbour” (Reader 2012), a term which resembles the press’s relationship with the community as showing care and understanding towards community problems (Poindexter et al 2006:78).

Further, the respondents believed that the newspaper raised awareness on issues confronting community members and events in the community. The respondents mainly attributed *Fourways Review*’s ability to raise awareness to their belief that it is an accepted publication in the community. Some of the respondents also had experiences of publishing their events in the newspaper and said they noticed a subsequent spike in interest from the community following the publication of these stories. The responses indicate that *Fourways Review* provides news of personal interest to the respondents and that they

view the publication as an extension of their social contracts (Janowitz 1951:525).

There was also consensus among the respondents that they view *Fourways Review* as a commercialised product and some respondents found this as a positive attribute as it aided them to shop in the community. This research found, in contrast to previous findings (Janowitz 1951; Hatcher 2013), that this did not make the respondents lose trust in the publication.

There were 11 respondents who believed that *Fourways Review* fulfilled a watchdog role just by being present in the community.

5.3.2 Findings of research question two: How is Fourways Review not meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper?

The success of a community newspaper depends on how intimately it covers community news and social rituals (Rosenberry 2012:28), and this research found the respondents do not believe *Fourways Review* adequately provides intimate coverage of news in the community. The respondents said *Fourways Review* does not adequately represent the all of the news in the community, construct a sense of community among its readers or fulfil certain key characteristics and roles of local news. The findings of these three criticisms will be explored in turn.

Firstly, all 30 respondents shared criticisms that *Fourways Review* does not sufficiently represent all of the happenings in the community, and a few of the respondents were highly critical that the newspaper is not reflective of the current community. The respondents were critical that the publication is dominated by advertisements and believe that more editorial content is needed to make the publication more substantial. The respondents criticised *Fourways Review* for not adequately reporting on four types of content, namely events and entertainment, including a cinema guide and restaurant reviews; schools,

including township schools; municipal services and issues, such as service delivery, development and policing; and, contact details for events and emergency numbers. The respondents believed that the lack of the provision of this content, which they believed they ought to know, indicated that *Fourways Review* does not provide them with all of the information that they need in the community. A further three respondents were critical that the newspaper marginalised certain demographic groups in the community by not representing the news affecting them. Two of these respondents believed that black people are not represented enough and another said elderly people are marginalised. Further, only 16 of the respondents believed that *Fourways Review* represents the voice of the community.

The criticism that *Fourways Review* does not adequately represent what is happening in the community led to the respondents' second complaint that *Fourways Review* does not adequately reinforce and construct the notion of community among community members (Steiner 2012:21). *Fourways Review's* distribution area was geographically demarcated around suburbs by the newspaper's parent company, Caxton Local Newspapers and therefore the readers do not necessarily relate to the distribution area as a community but rather to their individual suburbs. The respondents' belief that *Fourways Review* does not adequately represent all of the news in the community led to their criticism that the newspaper did not adequately construct a sense of community among all of its readers within the distribution area.

The respondents' third criticism is that the newspaper does not fulfil key characteristics and roles of local news, and they described the reporting style as "basic". They believed the newspaper should fulfil a key characteristic of local news of not only reporting issues but providing explanations for those issues (Heider et al 2005:956). The respondents further believed the newspaper should contextualise issues in terms of the broader Johannesburg community in order to promote understanding of community life (Edelstein & Larsen 1960:498). They further said *Fourways Review* does not fulfil their expectations

of the roles of local news, which were in accordance to the roles of local news as stipulated in Heider et al's (2005:956) study. Firstly, the respondents criticised the newspaper for reporting conservatively and attributed this criticism to the reason for why they largely did not believe *Fourways Review* played an investigative, watchdog role. The respondents attributed the lack of in-depth reporting to the journalists' lack of capacity to investigate stories and five respondents believed the journalists were intimidated by some community members and therefore did not have the autonomy to challenge dominant groups.

The criticism that the community avoids probing local tensions is a common in community journalism (Steiner 2012:21) as the reporting in community journalism has been termed as timid in the belief that community journalists often avoid reporting on controversies in order to maintain relations between the publication and staff in the community (Reader 2012:9). However, this criticism led respondents to believe that *Fourways Review* did not report on core community issues. Secondly, the respondents believed the newspaper did not promote civic involvement, a role not commonly associated with community journalism, but not an unfounded practise of community journalism (Killenberg 2012). The respondents described the apathy apparent in the *Fourways Review* distribution area as a motivating factor behind wanting the newspaper to fulfil this role. The problem of apathy in the community was further a reason for why the respondents believed the newspaper should perform a third role in the community, which is to offer solutions to the community's problems, a characteristic of local news described the "friendly neighbour" (Reader 2012:5). Associated to this friendly neighbour role is reporting in a way that shows care and understanding for the community (Heider et al 2005:962). That the respondents expect or want *Fourways Review* to fulfil the characteristics of a friendly neighbour and the newspaper does not, shows there is a disconnect between the community's expectations and the journalistic output (Heider et al 2005:962).

Drawing on the theoretical perspectives of previous studies, the respondents' criticisms that *Fourways Review* does not adequately represent the happenings in the community, construct a sense of community among readers or fulfil the roles and characteristics that they expect it to, indicates that the publication is not as connected to the community as a community newspaper should be (Reader 2012; Killenberg 2012). A further reason for this perspective was that 13 of the respondents were highly critical that the *Fourways Review* journalists were not embedded in the community and therefore did not always understand the issues affecting the community and the history behind why those issues were important for the community to know. There was a consensus among these respondents that the journalists often preferred to be copied on emails to find out what was happening instead of attending events and meeting community members. It is argued that in order for community journalists to understand the community's issues, they need to be close to the community which they report on (Reader 2012:6).

5.3.3 Findings of research question three: How could Fourways Review meet the community members' expectations better?

In order to fulfil the community's expectations better, *Fourways Review* needs to fulfil a friendly neighbour role in the community by offering solutions to community problems, showing care for the community, reporting on interesting community members and understanding the community (Heider et al 2005: 962). This research found that only a few respondents believed the newspaper fulfilled a problem solving role, but many stated that it did this through publishing issues for the public to read rather than the journalists reporting in such a way as to help to resolve issues. Most respondents did not believe that the newspaper did fulfil the role, and some were further critical that it could not fulfil such a role due to the "basic" reporting, however they did believe it was a role that was needed in the community. Further, the respondents believed *Fourways Review* needs to report more stories on interesting community members, report the news more timeously and show care for the community by

building relations. This research found that in order for *Fourways Review* to prevent a disconnection with its readers, the newspaper should fulfil the characteristics of the good neighbour style of reporting (Heider et al 2005: 962).

Fourways Review further needs to report on the happenings in the community more thoroughly as the research found the respondents want to see more events, especially in the form of a diary section; more school news; more contact numbers; more details for events; and stories on community members' activities. It would seem that the *Fourways Review* news team would need to re-look at the type of stories they are publishing as the respondents wanted to read more issues on service delivery, development and policing projects that affect the area directly. Some respondents also called for the newspaper to not only report on issues that were happening but to offer explanations as to why they were happening, such as offering legal advice and contextualising why certain issues are important beyond the borders of the newspaper's distribution area to the whole of the city and even in a world context. Providing such content would help the community newspaper to adequately fulfil the role of a community newspaper to provide readers with the information and explanations of issues which they need to know in the local community (Heider et al 2005:956). Even early studies into community journalism found community newspapers should assist community members to identify not only with local issues but in the wider city as well (Edelstein & Larsen 1960:498). Further, *Fourways Review* needs to construct a stronger association between its brand, its distribution area and the community members within all of the suburbs within its distribution area. This approach to reporting is termed bonding capital (Hatcher 2013:51) and stems from the need for the newspaper to report on more community activities in order to define its constructed area and foster a sense of community among its target groups within its geographically demarcated area (Hatcher 2013:50).

Many of the respondents want *Fourways Review* to promote civic involvement, a role which is not commonly associated with community press, however, not

unheard of (Killenberg 2012:84). The respondents believed the newspaper should promote activism on core issues that affect the community, to investigate issues and to report in a less conservative style. The respondents also believed the community newspaper should not be intimidated by community members and maintain autonomy. The community journalists also need to be more embedded in the community in order to identify core issues that are affecting the community in order to provide the community with what they need to know.

5.3.4 Findings of research question four: How do the respondents use Fourways Review to navigate the community?

Despite that *Fourways Review* does not adequately meet the community's expectations, the fourth research question found that the motivating factor behind why the majority of the respondents (22 of the 30) read *Fourways Review* is due to their interest and decisions they need to make in the area. There were four respondents who said that they read the newspaper out of habit. Previous studies have suggested that community members' attachments to their communities motivates them to read the community newspaper (Stamm 1988:359). This research did find that the majority of the respondents, all of whom read *Fourways Review*, had a dependence on the community as a place as well as an emotional attachment and sense of belonging to the community. Previous findings also suggest community newspapers can develop and reinforce community members' identification to a place (Edelstein & Larsen 1960; Stamm 1988). This was found to be true in this research as the respondents believed that reading *Fourways Review* contributed to their emotional attachment to the community. Most of the respondents believed that their emotional attachments to the area was mainly developed from their involvement in community events and organisations. However, they believed that their emotional attachment to the *Fourways Review* distribution area was developed subconsciously through reading the community newspaper. The respondents largely had their own means of finding out local information, such as through their personal experiences, and many of the respondents

interviewed used *Fourways Review* as a secondary source of information to find out what was happening and to get involved in the community. Yet, despite this, 27 of the 30 respondents said *Fourways Review* aided them in knowing more about the *Fourways Review* distribution area, which they would not otherwise know. They believed that this was due to the distribution area being a constructed community which is not typically referred to as a community.

5.3.5 Findings of research question five: To what extent do the Fourways community members depend on the newspaper to navigate the community as opposed to depending on their social bonds in the community to find out what is happening?

The majority of the respondents said they did not depend or rely on *Fourways Review* to help them to know what was happening in the community. The respondents' lack of dependence on *Fourways Review* to supply them with information was rooted in their strong social bonds in the community. There were 24 respondents who believed their strong social bonds helped them to know how to access news about their local community through community-based forums. There were 22 respondents who said they depended on their social networks and personal experiences to find out what was happening and did not consult *Fourways Review* as an information source to find answers to what they wanted to know. This contradicts the findings of previous community attachment studies which found community members depend on the community newspaper despite how strong their social bonds are in the community, as newspapers are viewed as a local authority (Demers 1996:307). The community attachment approach is often related to community journalism studies. However, the findings of this research are more in line with the argument made by agenda-setting research which is that personal experiences with issues serve to substitute media reports (Demers 1996:305). The respondents' criticism that *Fourways Review* did not sufficiently report on core community issues or represent all of the happenings in the community further made it difficult for them to rely on the publication for information to navigate the

community. However, a small portion of the respondents said that they do not know how to access local information without *Fourways Review*. Further, one respondent believed *Fourways Review* held a monopoly on local news in the community.

5.3.6 Findings of research question six: How could Fourways Review assist the community members better in order to provide news that they need to navigate the community and know what is happening?

This research argues that if the publication fulfilled the community's expectations better in terms of providing representative news of the local community and fulfilling the roles of in-depth, friendly neighbour reporting, the community could depend on the publication to navigate the community. The findings suggested that the respondents view *Fourways Review* as a platform to provide local information, but they also want to supply the *Fourways Review* team with news, thereby assuming an interdependent relationship. The respondents argued that if the community newspaper was more connected to the community, as a key trait of community journalism (Reader 2012:5), it could reflect a more representative perspective of what was happening in the community. It is argued that such an interdependent relationship between a community and a community newspaper can sustain readership (Stamm 1988:358).

The research further found that a substantial number of respondents, had not been influenced by the newspaper to join any organisations or attend any events. Some of these respondents indicated that the newspaper did not give them enough details of what the events or organisations were about and how to join. One respondent further believed the newspaper should have an interdependent relationship with the clubs, organisations and event organisers in order for these community entities to supply them with those details. This research found that if the publication not only supplied enough information on the community's activities but also fulfilled the respondents' expectations of

promoting such events, the community newspaper could help the community members to navigate the community better.

5.3.7 Findings of research question seven: How do Fourways Review's journalists define their roles?

The review of the literature in the second chapter found that the way in which a journalist conceives of their role in a community affects the content they produce (Edson et al 2013:539). In this research, the three community journalists, sub-editors and chief sub-editor interviewed held a shared occupational ideology rooted in an objective, passive and message-bearing role. However, it was apparent that the respondents conceived of their roles as committed to serving the community with information which they needed in order to be free and self-governing (Hanitzsch 2007:374). This is the role of a community-oriented approach to reporting (Ferrucci 2015:109). For two of the sub-editors, group editor, digital editor and one of the journalists; stories which had a bearing on the lives of the community members were considered as newsworthy and many of the respondents considered what the community members needed to know in determining the newsworthiness of stories. Further, the group and digital editors believed *Fourways Review* could play a more active role in the community, such as helping to solve the community's problems and the group editor further believed the newspaper should advocate issues. These are two roles which correspond respondents' expectations of *Fourways Review*.

In contrast to the community-oriented conception of reporting, the group and digital editors also conceived of their roles as producing news that the community wants to read as opposed to what the editors and journalists believe the community members need to know to be free and self-governing. The group editor described readers as "clients" and the digital editor said she also considered the newsworthiness of stories in terms of how many people would read the story on the website. She said she encouraged journalists to write

stories which she believed would get the most number of page views, rather than deciding whether it was a story that the community needed to know to make decisions in the community. This is considered a market-oriented approach to reporting which is termed as giving readers what they want at the expense of what they need to know (Hanitzsch 2007:375). It is typical in this role to address the audience as clients and consumers, instead of citizens and the news is driven by a rating mentality (Hanitzsch 2007:375).

5.3.8 Findings of research question eight: What pressures influence the community journalists' role enactments in producing news?

Just as previous studies have demonstrated that community journalists do not necessarily enact the roles they conceive (Edson et al 2013:359), so too the *Fourways Review* respondents pointed to three pressures which influenced their news production: advertisers, the community and managerial. This research found that despite the respondents' conceived community-oriented roles, they were influenced by these pressures to report in the market-oriented approach which the group and digital editors' had conceived as part of their roles. All of the *Fourways Review* respondents said they were made aware of the role of advertisers, or potential advertisers, when reporting stories as they brought in the newspaper's revenue. This was observed during participant observation where a public relations officer for a fast food chain pressurised the news team to retract the name of a fast food restaurant in a story on an alleged robbery at the restaurant, after it was found that a robbery thought to have taken place in the restaurant, actually took place outside the store.

While the group editor conceived of readers as clients, she said she does not believe that the advertising pressure impacts the content and did not believe that pressure was exerted from the advertising department. The group editor and chief-sub editor said the newspaper still reported on issues affecting the community, however, when a story could potentially harm an advertiser, the newspaper ensured that it was fair and did not over-sensationalise stories. Yet,

despite that the three journalists did not conceive of their roles in a market-oriented approach, they all said that they felt pressured to consider advertisers when enacting their roles. The journalists and digital editor criticised the pressure of advertisers, believing that it impacted the quality of the content as the reports would be conservative or typical of a promotional piece. The digital editor clarified that some of the pressures to subside to advertising pressure were exerted by departments outside the newsroom. It has been found that when a journalism institution plays a role of both a news provider and a commercial enterprise, a conflict of interest can arise (Gade 2008:372) as news that will create profits is prioritised over news that shows a commitment to the community (Ferrucci 2015:109).

The respondents said another pressure came from community members influencing how they reported on stories. The sub-editors and chief sub-editor said they were not affected by this pressure but the group editor said the Fourways community believed they were the “bosses” of the community newspaper. The journalists and digital editor believed that certain community members who had long-standing relationships with the newsroom or who were key community members could intimidate them to do stories that were not newsworthy as they did not want to get into trouble with the editors and wanted to maintain relations. Publishing stories to maintain relations in the community is an age-old trait of community journalism, along with the recognition that some people in the community need to be handled with care (Coble-Krings 2005:8). The respondents further stated that just as subsiding to advertising pressure was an institutional policy, so too the journalists felt influenced by their editors, who in turn were influenced by inter-departmental influences and even by the CEO. Previous research had found that community journalism’s constructive truth is not inaccurate but serves to exercise good judgement on whether or not to publish certain stories in order to maintain relations (Reader 2012:6).

5.3.9 Findings of research question nine: How satisfied are the community journalists with the content produced in Fourways Review ?

While exploring what pressures influence how the *Fourways Review* news team produces stories for the publication, it was found that the staff members were not entirely satisfied with how the news was produced and edited. A main criticism that emerged was that the respondents in this study are not as embedded in the community as is commonly associated with community journalism (Lauterer 2006:63). Only one of the journalists is a resident in the community, although the group editor had grown up in the area. Further, the group and digital editors were the only respondents who attend social events in the community, however all three journalists said they attend community events and meetings in order to report on them for the community newspaper. There was consensus among the group editor, digital editor, a sub-editor and chief sub-editor that the journalists were not as embedded in the community as they should be and two of the journalists admitted that they did not always know what was newsworthy to report on. The journalists also said that they often asked the community to send them news and did not always meet people face-to-face in order to collect information for stories. One sub-editor and the chief sub-editor believed this resulted in a culture of lazy reporting in the *Fourways Review* newsroom. Previous research has found that when community journalists are not embedded in their communities, they can misunderstand the community problems and not be able to comprehend the problems affecting the community (Steiner 2012:21) and in turn they and the publication can lose credibility (Coble-Krings 2005:10).

Yet, it was found during the interviews as well as during participant observation, especially with regards to putting care into the newspaper before sending it to press and wanting to break news first, that the respondents wanted to please the community. Previous studies have found this theme to be due to the community journalists' strong connectedness to the community and a feeling of accountability for the communities they serve (Reader 2012:6). However, in the

case of the *Fourways Review* respondents, it seemed less of an instance of feeling accountable to the community and more of a worry not to get into trouble with management. This often resulted in the respondents saying that they reported with sensitivity and caution, particularly in the face of advertising and community pressures. The results of this market-oriented approach to reporting was that the digital editor and one sub-editor believed that at times the newspaper reported over-sensitively. The digital editor said reporting with this approach was often to the “detriment” of the publication as it would not publish information which other national or provincial publications would publish. A second reason why many of the respondents believe in reporting with sensitivity is that they aim to publish news that will build the community. The respondents said they did this through reporting a balance of crime and good news stories in order to inform and educate readers.

Like the community member respondents, the *Fourways Review* respondents also believed that the newspaper did not always represent all of the happenings in the community and believed it could inform the community about more events, activities, community organisations and key community members. There was also dissatisfaction that the newspaper does not adequately represent all of the suburbs within the distribution area. This finding echoes the responses from community members who believe that if the newspaper represented all of the news throughout its distribution area more thoroughly, it would help to construct a sense of community among readers.

While the local township is not located within the *Fourways Review* distribution area, the respondents believed they should give the township community a voice, however admitted this was difficult as the township community often did not have the means of contacting the newspaper to inform the journalists of their problems. A recent South African study also believed an important obstacle of community journalism in the country is to build inclusive communities and promote relations between residents of both affluent and marginalised groups in a community (Hatcher 2013:61).

5.4 Determining the validity of the research assumptions

In the formulation of the research problem, this research established a set of seven assumptions for this research to test. In this section, the research aims to determine which of the assumptions were validated or refuted by the findings.

5.4.1 Assumption one

The first assumption was that *Fourways Review* assists individual community members to identify with the community. This research found that as *Fourways Review* is distributed to a constructed community made up of suburbs, the distribution area is not ordinarily identified as a community. The community members interviewed said they identify with their individual suburbs more than with the newspaper's distribution area, however, they said the delivery of the newspaper to each of these suburbs does aid in them feeling part of the *Fourways Review* distribution area. The community member respondents believe that by reading about the happenings in the various suburbs, they feel familiar to the areas within the *Fourways Review* distribution area, even on a subconscious level, and therefore believe *Fourways Review* helps them to feel a sense of belonging to their own suburb as well as to other suburbs within the distribution area. This finding supports previous community attachment studies which found that community newspapers can develop and reinforce a community's identification with a place (Edelstein & Larsen 1960; Brehm 2007). However, six of the community member respondents were critical that *Fourways Review* does not stimulate their sense of belonging to the whole distribution area because the publication does not adequately represent all of the news in its distribution area. It is this criticism which further led many of the respondents to believe that the newspaper does not adequately construct and reinforce a sense of community among its readers, which is a role of the community press (Steiner 2012: 21). This research found *Fourways Review* needs to construct a stronger association between its brand, readers and

happenings in the distribution area through its discourse of news (Hatcher 2013:51) and to report more thoroughly and actively on all of the happenings in the community. This research argues that this would aid the newspaper in assisting individual community members to identify with the community.

5.4.2 Assumption two

The findings of the research refute the second assumption that the community members within *Fourways Review's* distribution area rely on the community newspaper as a source of local information. While the research did find that the community members interviewed accept *Fourways Review* as a provider of local news, with all 30 respondents reading the publication, and that the respondents' interest in the area made them read the community newspaper, the majority of the respondents said they relied more on their social bonds and personal experiences than on the newspaper to find out what was happening in their suburb or surrounding area. However, the community members' acceptance of the publication should not be undermined by their reliance on their social bonds, as the majority of the respondents used their strong social bonds to share information which they had read in *Fourways Review*.

5.4.3 Assumption three

The third research assumption was that *Fourways Review* would inform community members of the happenings in the community and encourage them to participate in civic life. The findings validate the first part of the assumption as the community member respondents believe they know more about what is happenings in the whole of the *Fourways Review* distribution area because of reading *Fourways Review*. As the *Fourways Review* distribution area is a constructed community, the community member respondents further believed they would not necessarily find out the information about this constructed community without reading *Fourways Review*. However, the respondents criticised *Fourways Review* for not adequately representing all of the news in

the distribution area in order to keep them informed. The second part of the assumption was refuted by the finding that the community newspaper does not publicise enough information on events and community activities to encourage community members to participate, and further does not promote community involvement, which some community members and group editor hoped it would.

5.4.4 Assumption four

The research findings validated the fourth assumption that the community members generally understand the role of the community newspaper and what it offers (Reader 2012:3). This was found in that all of the respondents accept *Fourways Review*, and a further 21 of the 30 respondents said they identified with the community newspaper as being “theirs”. They further identified with the newspaper as the provider of feel-good and crime news, and, while this research has explored how the commercialisation of the newspaper has negative effects on the community’s perception of the newspaper and community journalists’ role enactments, the research found the respondents recognised that they could access the advertisements in the weekly newspaper. The research further found that the respondents were familiar with the content offered in *Fourways Review*, their expectations of the newspaper and how the community newspaper could provide content to meet their expectations.

5.4.5 Assumption five

The fifth assumption is two-fold and the research findings validated both parts. The first part of the assumption is that internal and external community structures influence the production of community media (Lowrey 2012:97). The findings of the research support the theory set out by previous research that community journalists’ role conceptions and role enactments are not linear (Edson et al 2013). This research found the journalists believe external pressures from advertisers and community members as well as internal

pressures from other departments and managers impact how they enact their roles, which in turn affects the content that is produced.

The second part of the assumption is that the internal and external community pressures also assist the community to shape itself (Lowrey 2012:97). This assumption is validated by the finding that the community member respondents said they have strong social bonds and personal experiences in the community which they depend on more than they rely on *Fourways Review* to find out what was happening in the community. This research has described how this finding aligns with the agenda-setting theory that individuals' personal experiences with community issues substitutes their use of the media (Demers 1996:305). The majority of the respondents were also aware of how to access local news through other media, newsletters, websites and social media platforms and were therefore not reliant on *Fourways Review* for local news.

5.4.6 Assumption six

The research validated the sixth assumption that the relationship between a community newspaper and the community it serves is multi-dimensional. This research found the *Fourways Review* staff depend on the community members not only to read the stories published but to supply them with news and press releases of events so that they did not need to attend in person. Such content is referred to as user-generated content in the newsroom and the group editor was proud that the newspaper has had a long history of community members supplying them with news. However, the chief sub-editor and one sub-editor criticised the journalists' high dependency on such content. The sub-editor believed 80 percent of the content published in *Fourways Review* is press releases and that the use of user-generated content nurtured a culture of lazy journalism in the newsroom. She believed this in turn impacted the content published in the publication. There was further evidence to suggest the community, as well as the group editor, hoped the community newspaper would play a role in not only supplying news but also in activating the community and

tackling issues affecting the community such as by providing solutions to community problems and investigating issues to fulfil a stronger watchdog role in the community.

5.4.7 Assumption seven

The findings of the sixth assumption lead to the validation of the seventh assumption that the relationship between a community newspaper's staff and the community allows for community journalism to adapt (Lowrey 2012:96). That the community member respondents described ways in which the community newspaper could serve their expectations better is evidence that they believed the community newspaper could change and adapt in order to serve the interests of the community. The community journalists also described how they hoped their role enactments were not as impacted by certain pressures so they could enact the roles they conceived of in order to serve the community with news, further indicating that the community newspaper could change its reporting style. The community members and some of the *Fourways Review* staff also believed there was a need for the community journalists to adapt their relationship with the community in order for the journalists to be more embedded in the community, to understand community issues better and to publish less user-generated content.

5.5 Limitations of the research

This research comes with limitations.

5.5.1 Limitation one

The primary limitation of this research is that the relatively narrow focus, being based on one community newspaper and a sample of its readers and staff is relatively small, reduces the generalisability of the findings. However, the

homogenous sample will allow for the results to be compared with those of other studies.

5.5.2 Limitation two

As the research represents only one community, this study would need to be replicated in other communities in order to determine the public's expectations of local news. This is because not all communities have the same characteristics and needs and therefore, may have different expectations of a community newspaper (Heider et al 2005:963).

5.5.3 Limitation three

As pointed out as a limitation in the first chapter, the scope of this research is limited to exploring the community members' and staff members' attitudes to *Fourways Review's* local news content. The findings of the research showed that the community member respondents had many opinions on the advertising content and the *Fourways Review* staff members had opinions on the effects of the inter-departmental pressures on the local news. While the responses to advertising and inter-departmental pressures were described in this research, the research is limited by not obtaining the responses from the staff members within the advertising department and management positions who work on *Fourways Review*.

5.5.4 Limitation four

The interview sample of 30 community members and eight journalists is relatively small, and was selected due to time constraints. However, this research chose the sample based on other similar studies, and considering the sample's ability to provide adequate information which was explored in chapters four and five, it is argued that the size of the sample did not constrain the

research findings however, a larger sample would have arguably obtained more results.

5.5.5 Limitation five

The techniques employed in this research are limited to capturing the respondents' attitudes at one point in time. This limits the ability for the progress of the respondents' attitudes to be tracked (Gade 2008:384). It is further argued that editors may inflate their value in their responses (Gade 2008:384). However, it is important to understand how an organisation's members perceive their roles and what they believe influences their role enactments (Gade 2008:384).

5.5.6 Limitation six

The literature on what readers expect from local news was predominantly limited to American studies as extensive research could not be found on this topic. The findings of the previous studies on readers' expectations of local news also suggested that more research on this topic is needed and that understanding what people want from local news is important in order to maintain readership (Heider et al 2005:964).

5.6 Future research

Following from this exploratory research, it is apparent that there is a need for more research into what audiences expect from a community newspaper, how community members use their community newspaper to navigate the community and what pressures influence the production of news. In particular, it is believed there is a need to:

5.6.1 Explore the type of media South African township communities seek

The research findings point to a need to further explore what community members living in the township bordering the *Fourways Review* distribution area expect from a community newspaper. It would seem from some of the respondents' remarks that there is a need for the township to receive a community newspaper and, in turn, there is a need for the Fourways community to receive the township's news. This finding further indicates the need for a study, which was first suggested by Hatcher (2013), to explore the type and format of community media that township communities seek.

5.6.2 Conduct more research into what people expect from local news

The research demonstrated the lack of studies worldwide on measuring what the public expects from local news, and found that such studies help to gain insight into how the media could give readers what they want to read in order to maintain readership (Heider et al 2005:964) and give readers the information they need to know in order to function as a democracy (Hanitzsch 2007). It is suggested that more studies are needed in order to reverse declining attention to news and encourage more participation in civic life (Heider et al 2005:964).

5.6.3 Apply this research to other community newspapers

It would be interesting to apply the methods employed in this research to the other six community newspapers in the *Fourways Review* newsroom in order to determine to what extent the other community newspapers are meeting the community's expectations, how they use the community newspaper to navigate their communities, how the journalists view their role conceptions and what influences their role enactments. The study could further be conducted in all of the branches and the results could be compared in order to determine to what extent Caxton Local Newspapers are meeting the community's expectations.

5.6.4 Explore how journalists' role enactments differ from their role conceptions

It is argued that more research is needed on how news is produced (Ferrucci 2015) and therefore future research could focus only on how the journalists conceive news and what influences their role enactments. Ferrucci (2015) believed research should go beyond examining the content and question journalists on what pressures they are confronted by and what influences their role enactments, as this research has done. The study could also conduct a content analysis in order to quantify how the role conceptions differ from the role enactments.

5.6.5 Explore organisational influences on news production

Future research could determine the organisational influence on news by not only asking the content-producing staff in the newsroom about their role conceptions and the pressures on their role enactments, but those within the newsroom too (Gade 2008:384). It is believed that this will also determine how effective the editors in the newsroom manage the pressures on news content and to what extent they promote news values while being confronted by such pressures and to what extent they advocate non-news interests (Gade 2008:384).

5.6.6 Compare how individuals' attachments to the community affect their news consumption

It is argued that approaches which focus more on the interactions which community members have with their communities may provide more insight into how attached they are to their communities (Sundblad & Sapp 2011:533), and how this affects their news consumption. The interview technique to determine the extent to which the individuals' attachment to the community influences their news consumption could be applied to other communities and the results could

be compared. This research supports the notion that a community's attachment to a place cannot exclude the natural environment from the community's sense of belonging to the community and therefore, future research should measure community attachment in terms of how the community is attached to the natural environment as well as their social ties in the community (Brehm 2007:487).

5.6.7 Explore corporate involvement in community journalism

A South African researcher believes it is necessary to study to what extent corporate involvement in community media is compatible with the ethos of community journalism in the cases where large commercial media, such as the Caxton newspaper group, has set up community media enterprises (Berger 2012:195). The findings of this research which show the community journalists' disgruntlement that market-oriented approach to reporting influences how they enact their role, reveal a need for further research into how a journalism institution can successfully balance journalism practice and commercial interests.

5.6.8 Measure the differences of role conception to role enactment

It was indicated in the first chapter that the *Fourways Review* staff members' attitudes about their role conceptions could be compared against the findings of a content analysis of the diversity of the content published by the publication. Such research was used by Edson et al (2013) as described in chapter two. However, it was considered as beyond the scope of this research to analyse the content of *Fourways Review* as this research did not aim to measure the role enactments of the staff members but rather to explore their attitudes on how they defined their roles and what pressures they believed influenced their roles. Following the findings of this research, it is considered that a content analysis of the diversity of the content could be considered as a future research study. Content diversity can be measured by considering structural factors such as the

various sizes, types, formats and geographical ranges of the topics (Voakes et al 1996:583).

An analysis of the diversity of the sources used in *Fourways Review* could also be useful, given the findings that the community journalists felt pressurised to rely on certain community members in the community for news. Analysing the range of sources used in the publication could establish the extent to which the publication was representative of the community (Brown et al 1987:45).

While this research considers that these research methods could be applied to further research on *Fourways Review*, they could be employed for any journalism publication.

5.6.9 Measure attitudes against an analysis of the diversity of the content

A further content analysis which would be useful to this research in particular, given the findings that the community member respondents believe *Fourways Review* does not adequately represent all of the happenings in the whole distribution area, would be to analyse the geographical range of the content (Voakes et al 1996:583). The findings of this content analysis could then be measured against the community members' attitudes and could lead to an understanding of how *Fourways Review* could represent the whole of its distribution area and therefore help to construct a sense of community among readers. This research could be also employed for studies on other journalism publications too.

5.7 Conclusion

This fifth and final chapter has concluded the findings of this research which set out to explore the extent to which community newspaper *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations of a community newspaper; how the community members use the publication to navigate the community and how

the community journalists define their roles and the pressures that affect how they enact their roles. These three sub-problems guided the structure of the research. Research questions were established for each sub-problem in the first chapter; literature relating to these three sub-problems was reviewed in chapter two; the methodology to collect and analyse the data was described in relation to each of the three sub-problems in the third chapter; and the findings that related to each sub-problem were explored in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, the findings to each of the research questions relating to the three sub-problems were explored in turn.

This research found that *Fourways Review* does not adequately meet the community members' expectations of a community newspaper, although the respondents do accept the publication as a provider of local news, especially for security tips and feel-good stories, and as a vehicle to raise awareness of issues. A main issue raised by the community member respondents as to how the community newspaper is not adequately meeting their expectations was their criticism that *Fourways Review* does not adequately report on core issues affecting the community. The community member respondents attributed this criticism to their belief that the community journalists are not as embedded in the community they thought the journalists should be. This finding reveals that *Fourways Review* is not as community-minded as previous studies have characterised community newspapers to be (Lauterer 2006:63). The extent to which a community newspaper is community-minded, or connected to its community, has been determined by the extent to which it is accessible to readers (Lauterer 2006:63). As stated in the first chapter of this research, community journalism is characterised by the close relationship between a community newspaper and its readers (Reader 2012:5). The general sentiment of the community member respondents was that the relationship between *Fourways Review* and its community is not close enough. This finding was further echoed by respondents in the *Fourways Review* news team who criticised the journalists' reliance on press releases from community members rather than embedding themselves in the community to collect their own

information on issues that affect community members. These respondents argued that the journalists' lack of embeddedness makes it difficult for them to understand community issues and the history behind the issues.

The research found that the community member respondents also criticised the publication for not adequately representing the happenings in the whole distribution area. The respondents believed this lack of representation meant that *Fourways Review* did not sufficiently construct a sense of community among its readers. The lack of adequate reporting of news and events was further seen to impact how the community members use the publication as they said they had a higher dependency on their social bonds and personal experiences to navigate the community than on *Fourways Review*. The literature review in the second chapter described how many previous studies have not been able to determine a causal relationship between community members' use of local news and their attachment to the community, and while this research did not set out to explore a causal relationship, it has found that if *Fourways Review* supplied the respondents with more news, the respondents said the publication would be more useful to help them to navigate the community. However, an interesting finding is that despite that the community member respondents believe that *Fourways Review* does not provide them with as much news as they expect it to, especially in regards to municipal issues; diary events; and school news, they still have a loyalty to read the community newspaper every week, even if it is just to page through it for two-to-three minutes, as Respondent 30 said.

A main reason for the community member respondents' criticisms that *Fourways Review* is not as community-minded as they expected it to be was attributed to the community newspaper's prioritisation of a market-oriented approach to reporting over a community-oriented approach. Interviews with the *Fourways Review* staff members revealed that while they all conceive of a community-oriented approach to reporting stories in order to build up the community, their enactment of these roles is influenced by advertising,

community and inter-departmental pressures. These pressures influence them to report using a market-oriented approach in order to satisfy some community members' or advertisers' wants over the needs of the whole community. An example of this was documented during field observation where the news team put the need to obtain comment from the public relations officer of a fast food franchise before publishing a story on an alleged robbery at a restaurant ahead of issuing a warning to community members that the area was unsafe. While the team decided to publish the story after the public relations officer could not be reached for comment, the ability of a potential advertiser and member of the community to influence news production was further documented as the public relations officer pressurised the news team to remove the name of the franchise in the original story after it was found that the robbery did not take place inside the restaurant. The *Fourways Review* staff members were not always in support of reporting with a market-oriented approach but said they did so in order to prevent getting into trouble with their superiors. This reveals that inter-departmental pressures also influence this commercialised reporting approach.

The effects of the community newspaper's staff obliging to report in a way that would pacify advertisers or residents was also seen by the community member respondents who were interviewed. One of their biggest criticisms of *Fourways Review* was that the newspaper reports in a conservative style which lacks investigation and is easily intimidated by community members. The community member respondents see *Fourways Review* as a commercialised product which does not fulfil a key characteristic of local news that they would want to see, which is to show care and understanding for the community through reporting on community issues. These are characteristics of the friendly neighbour role (Reader 2012:5). Another characteristic is that it offers solutions to community problems (Heider et al 2005:962), an area that the respondents believe is neglected by the reporting in *Fourways Review*. Further, despite the publication's drive to break news first on its website, as was noted during field observation in the *Fourways Review* newsroom, the community member respondents still want to read reports on what happened and explanations of

the issues to be published in the community newspaper. Explaining issues is another characteristic of the friendly neighbour role (Heider et al 2005:962).

The findings validated the assumptions set out by this research that *Fourways Review* helps to inform the community members of what is happening in the distribution area; that the community members understand the role of a community newspaper and that pressures impact both the production of news and how the community views itself. Further, the findings validate the assumption that there is a multi-dimensional, adaptable relationship between the community and *Fourways Review*. However, the findings refuted the assumptions that *Fourways Review* assists the community members in identifying with the community of *Fourways Review* readers. It was found that a stronger identification between the *Fourways Review* brand, readers and happenings in the community would need to be created in order for *Fourways Review* to help community members to identify with the *Fourways Review* distribution area. The findings also refuted the assumption that the community relies on *Fourways Review* for local content and that the newspaper encourages community members to be active in the community.

The research is limited by its narrow focus which does not allow for the generalisability of the findings. Further, the research techniques employed by this research only allow for the interactions and attitudes of the respondents to be explored at one point in time, which also limits the research. The scope of the literature used to provide a conceptual framework, especially with regards to the literature on what readers expect to read in local news, was largely drawn upon from America and the United Kingdom, as studies in this area are limited. While this research helps to contribute to this understudied area of community journalism, it is acknowledged that the use of more local sources would have aided in relating the research to other studies into community journalism in South Africa. An exploration of the advertising sections of the community newspaper would have been beneficial given that the community member respondents showed their dissatisfaction towards this section. This however

could lead to further research on this topic as it would be beneficial to compare the community members' attitudes of the community newspaper with the findings of a content analysis of the diversity of the content within the publication. It is suggested that structural diversities such as the type of news stories as well as the geographical range of the content could be analysed (Voakes et al 1996:583). It would further be interesting to measure the community newspaper's staff members' definitions of their roles against the findings of a content analysis of the diversity of the publications' content, as Edson et al (2013) studied.

The findings that the community journalists and community members criticised *Fourways Review's* market-driven approach to reporting demonstrates a need for future research into the validity of corporate involvement in community journalism. Just as Hatcher's (2013) study found that further research into how community journalism in South Africa can help to unite both affluent and marginalised community members within a community, this research has also found that more research is needed on how community journalism can not only build but also bridge social networks between affluent and marginalised communities. The research further shows that there has not been many studies, especially not in South Africa, into what communities expect to read in local news. The findings show that such studies are important in order to maintain readership and to ensure that community journalism is reporting news to benefit the community by providing information that they need to know (Hanitzsch 2007:374). Further, given the findings that the pressures on community journalists can influence how they report news, it is important to conduct further research into what influences journalists' role enactments and to what extent editors' promote non-news interests in the community at the expense of news values.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RESULTS OF PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 1

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?
Kyalami Ext 1.
- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, and ward councillor, resident's association committee member?
Ward Councillor Ward 93.
- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Every week.
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?
Very often.
- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes.
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
Report on create awareness of Municipal, Provincial and National Service Delivery issues and Social and Sporting Reports.
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
News on local issues raised by communities

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

Yes, as they get updated on relevant issues on a weekly basis, issues of relevance throughout.

- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?

Mostly.

- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

I would take more comment from residents; I would have a dedicated page just for Councillors and the different wards. Fewer adverts and more stories, not enough Journalists available to come to community meetings of interest to report on.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

Yes I think so.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

Yes some, as not all Journalists check before the story goes out correct and in context to the subject. This causes confusion. Rushing because of deadlines.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

Spending more time with Community Projects, NGO's and feel good stories that motivate the public; you have to have a good balance between the News of the week and the positive stories that motivate people to do self-help projects.

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Yes mostly.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

Drive issues that originate from the Community. Contributions from many sectors of the market.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?

At times when there are important discussions or debates at relevant meetings of public interest they can't always make it, over committed and they don't always come out at night.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

To give a correct, fair and balanced report of events that happen in every suburb they cover.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

Mostly.

- Would you like to add anything?

I would like to have a newspaper delivered to Waterfall City as most of the residents shop in the Fourways area and they don't receive any newspaper at the moment.

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 2

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?

Dainfern area since May and Douglasdale for 3 years before.

- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member?

Social worker for Ark Animal Centre. I do all their social media and fundraising/awareness.

- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?

Every week! Seeing if we are featured ;) Ha ha ha, no seriously though I enjoy the content and catching up on what's happening in the area.

- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Oh my word, actually quite often! Mostly via Ark's events and fundraisers eg: Bikini Car Wash, Barnyard fundraiser, pregnant mom dog rescue etc. I'd estimate over 20 times.

- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?

Yes, most definitely and they have amazing staff too. They manage to cover all topics be it happy or sad in the area.

- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Because I enjoy it and want to see if there is anyone I know who might be inside, and to obviously see Ark's articles, they make my week!

- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?

I enjoy the events section and the general news sections (first 6 pages or so).

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

I personally think it is. Like I said before they touch on a variety of topics. To be honest though (to throw a spanner in the works) I was away a couple weeks ago and picked up an old copy when I got back, and for the first time I didn't overly enjoy the paper, only because on literally every page there was some charity begging for help. Obviously being a charity myself this comment will in essence be bad for Ark, but I just felt that there was too much 'help me' and not enough of actual news and happening from the community. If there are going to be 'help me's' it should be from people in the area not from other districts.

- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?

Yes! (except obviously the one point newspaper mentioned above).

- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

I wouldn't change anything really. I would maybe just be careful not to come across as a 'charity newspaper' because reading one sad story after another depressing story after another desperate plea just makes you feel horrible, and less likely to read in future. I think a perfect world would be a mixture of events, community news and accomplishments, charity and other random stuff.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

From our experience yes. If we put in pictures for our dogs looking for homes 3 out of every 5 will be adopted that weekend, and the people arrive saying that they saw "Spot" in the newspaper. We always have had positive feedback from our clients and from our own experience we most definitely feel that *Fourways Review* is not only our newspaper, but our friends.

- Has any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

Not any that I can think of. I loved the one when someone was writing happy messages on the road in Douglasdale – that story is probably one of my best. Every time I think of it I feel happier. It is one of the few times there is a happy story on the front cover. I think the one time when they had that disgusting picture of an emaciated dog on the front was just too much, I personally didn't even read through that paper as I assumed there would be more horrible stuff inside.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

I think they are doing a great job! They work hard, are always alert and aware of their surroundings. I actually couldn't suggest any form of constructive criticism. If anything they deserve a massive well done.

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manor?

Definitely.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

No, I like the way the report currently. It is very professional and fair.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?

Not off the top of my head. My own experience has been great dealing with them. When we had an issue of puppies being sold on the side of the road, they did do an article on it as best they could. It is a huge problem in the JHB areas, I don't think it received as much awareness as it should have, but I do believe they did the best they could at that time.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

I think the role of a community newspaper is to keep members of the community informed of the surrounding news, happenings etc of that area. Recently I have noticed a few articles in the newspaper that are not relevant to the Fourways area, but as long as they aren't happening often I think the newspaper is all round brilliant.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

Yes. I think it plays a crucial role in our community, so many of our clients are referred to us via an article or story on our shelter. For us as a puppy shelter the newspaper is a major asset. To fulfil our expectations better... was actually thinking of having a dedicated section of animal care or animal tips from Ark every second week or so. Just a tiny couple sentences to educate the community on correct animal care, health, tips for training etc. You will be surprised at how many people have no clue on simple animal knowledge.

- Would you like to add anything?

We love the newspaper. We wouldn't be where we are today if it wasn't for them. I think they have a great team working together now and know it will only be a matter of time before they start winning awards (if there even are newspaper awards).

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 3

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?
Barbeque Downs – 10 years
- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member?
Chairperson of Barbeque Downs, Ward Committee Member, Business Owner
- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Every week
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story?
- How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?
Yes, many times

- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes I do think more events in the community could be put in
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
Love to see what's going on and if there is anything in there my community needs to know about
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
Love the council issues being exposed, charity work for both humans and animals and the Children's sports page.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?
Yes, cause there is always something in there that effects the residents in some way.
- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?
Yes, there are times items have not been added in which is sad.
- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?
Not much but I think there should be a community page and school page.
- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?
Yes and no, we fall between 3 newspapers so sometimes our news doesn't get to all i.e. Midrand Police and CPF may only be in Midrand reported and not Fourways
- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?
No not the newspaper, maybe the events or people that have been exposed.
- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?
More community events on a certain page

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?
Yes I do.
- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?
No 'because I think you are the middles man and you need to give both side of the story and allow the residents to respond.
- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better?
Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?
No.
- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?
More community based activities and events.
- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?
Same as above. I think if there was a separate page reader would be able to find and locate quickly.
- Would you like to add anything?
Thank you to all the journalist for giving their personal time to come to many of the meetings and evening events.

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 4

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area? Glenferness
- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member? Resident, Lipizzaner fundraiser.

- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Weekly.
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Yes, I try to keep the newspaper up to date with events pertaining to the SA Lipizzaner's, Dressage and Vaulting shows as well as community related initiatives.

- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes.
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
To keep abreast of local issues.
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
Having taught for many years, I particularly enjoy the school news as well as the sport.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?
I think they do. It is a wonderful way to hear what is going on in our area.
- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?
Yes
- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?
I can't really think of anything off hand.
- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?
I think so, yes.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?
Not necessarily that reporters have written but often the sentiments of unenlightened people.
- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?
- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?
Yes, I do.
- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?
No, am think there is a happy balance right now.
- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?
I cannot think of one offhand.
- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?
I think it is to create an awareness of all community members of what is going on around them. Yes, I do believe they fulfil this role.
- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community?
How could it fulfil your expectations better? Yes it is.
- Would you like to add anything? I really value, and appreciate, the interest you have shown in all the various community projects our family is directly involved with.

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 5

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?
I stay in Beverley and have been in the Fourways area for 20 years.

- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, resident's association committee member?
I am involved in many residents associations, Community policing forums, JHB Metro Ward committee, Chairman of two complexes where I have properties.
- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Every week.
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?
Yes multiple times for both questions.
- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes I do.
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
Keep up to date with what's going and also look at shopping specials as supplements.
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
All sections to keep current whether it is the news, sports or motoring, I like them all.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?
Yes, it reports on the facts with related pictures etc.
- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?
Yes.
- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

Not much really, it is well rounded.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

Yes, I do believe so.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

No not at all.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

Start identify key players in the community striving to make it a better place for everyone, in other words the values of the people trying to contribute.

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Yes.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

Not really, it is fine the way it is, it must be balanced.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?

I cannot recall such a situation.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

Yes, I do believe so.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

I am happy with the content, perhaps some additional information on what's on at the movies.

- Would you like to add anything?

No I believe the *Fourways Review* is a good reflection of what's happening on the ground.

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 6

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?

Kyalami, 15 years.

- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member?

Conservancy chairperson

- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?

Every week.

- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Yes, approximately 10 to 15 times.

- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?

Yes.

- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

To keep up to date with community issues and work being done by various community groups.

- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
Main feature articles on the first few pages because they often deal with some conflict or threat that the community is facing. The longer articles often have the most detail and research in the stories.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?
Yes, however I feel it could be more relevant. There are some serious issues which are not getting adequate coverage.
- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?
The reporting is good, but often the advertisements can overwhelm the page and detract from the articles.
- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

A lot of the newspaper is devoted to community groups doing good - which is necessary to include. However I would prefer more attention to larger issues that may require investigative journalism. Our communities deal with issues such as bribery and corruption which very rarely features. Articles often deal with residents' reporting a problem, but very little follow up is done. Articles should tackle serious issues and follow the issue to assist the community in highlighting the issues and reaching a desirable outcome.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

I do, because it has assisted us in gaining exposure for our issues. However I find that we as a community must contribute for it to be representative. Therefore the responsibility is in a large part ours to own the newspaper.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

None come to mind. I would more likely be upset if something was not covered or given attention.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?
Report issues from neighbouring communities such as Diepsloot. Articles only speaking about our own neighbourhoods paint a one-sided view and reinforce divisions between our communities. Print more articles about city issues such as planning – new developments – infrastructural upgrades. Develop a relationship with developers and officials that they share details of projects to keep residents informed.
- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Yes, absolutely. I have always been impressed with the level of ethics.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?
I understand the need for giving a balanced view of a situation. However many stories require additional investigation and simply interviewing both parties and including their comments does not paint a true picture. Where there is smoke there is fire – often journalists can see that there may be a deeper story and these stories need to be uncovered and told.
- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?
I have been aware of situations arising in Diepsloot which do not receive coverage in the *Fourways Review*. This area is adjacent to the Fourways

area and anything that happens there impacts Fourways residents. However, due to the lack of coverage Fourways residents are unaware of this. When asking the *Review* why more coverage was not given to Diepsloot I was told that Diepsloot is not the target area for their advertisers and they do not distribute there.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

I believe it is to not only report on community activities, but to spur the community into action – to take responsibility for their community. Also to inform of city plans and processes and to highlight issues both positive and negative. I believe that more can be done to motivate for responsible citizenry and accountability of government and private organisations.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

More investigative journalism, a focus on larger city issues and how these issues affect the local community

- Would you like to add anything?

Journalism plays a vital role in transforming our society. If we want an integrated society we need to understand the viewpoints of others. While newspapers remain segregated and report only on issues affecting either affluent or impoverished areas then the one does not have the opportunity to understand the other. What happens in one area impacts the other and all should have an opportunity to know what is going on in all sectors of our society.

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 7

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?

Crowthorne since 1986.

- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member?

Activist, resident.

- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?

Not as often as I like as it is not delivered to me and I have to go and find one before they all run out

- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Pretty damn often!

- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?

Very much so.

- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

To see what is happening from an environmental, equestrian and security perspective.

- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?

Anything to do with no6 because those are my interests

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

Yes, we read it and it gives news of what's happening in our immediate area. We are unlikely to hear this on the news or see it in the larger newspapers.

- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?

Yes, somewhat.

- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

More about how the community is directly affected with regards to various issues.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

I would guess so.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

Yes mainly the developers' responses to community concerns – but this is my pet hate!

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

Have less ads inserted and more articles.

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Mostly –depends on the reporter.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

No, I don't think it's a reporter's job to advocate – only to report.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?
- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

To report local news and it is doing this.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

Yes, perhaps consult with the communities more rather than the community having to get hold of someone when they want something highlighted.

- Would you like to add anything?

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 8

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?
Paulshof, since 1983.
- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member? A resident but I travel between there and Fish Hoek
- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
When I am in Palushof.
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?
Once or twice.
- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes.
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
Community news.
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
News to find out what is happening.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

Local news.

- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?

When first looking at a group photograph, the first face you look for is your own. If you look ok, then it is likely that you will like the entire photograph, even if someone else has their eyes closed.

a. When reading a newspaper column in which you are featured, or an issue about which you feel strongly, you will first look for your own comments or comments made in favour of your cause.

b. If the newspaper article correctly reflects your comments, or appears to be supportive of your cause, you will like the newspaper.

c. If you are misquoted or the article appears biased in favour of the opposition viewpoint, you will hate the newspaper (the messenger – “kill the messenger”).

- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

With Dual Column reporting, the newspaper remains in favour by both sides of the argument.

a. Just as with a group photograph, you will immediately look for your own comments first. If correctly stated, you will like the newspaper. With Dual Column reporting, it is easy to identify your own comments as you have your own column neatly headed for ease of identification.

b. After having read your own comments, or read the column representing your cause, you will then move on to see what the opposition say. Like the group photograph, you will not be upset with the photographer or newspaper if the opposition's eyes are closed. You may well think the opposition's viewpoint is stupid or wrong, but not blame the newspaper.

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is ‘their’ newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

It is dependent on whether the newspaper adequately represents each individual’s views as above.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?
- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

I refer to a study on “Dual Column Reporting” as the newspaper equivalent of the radio/TV debates.

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?
- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

The problem with a newspaper focussing more on columnists’ opinions as opposed to reporters’ factual reports on an events means the paper takes a political stance, it loses its perception of impartiality. And, you need well informed columnists or your newspaper quickly loses the community’s trust.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?

Let’s say there is a dispute over land allocation or an application for a Billboard, or whatever. The newspaper could ask the exact same questions to those in favour and against the proposal. Then with the questions in one column, the answers of the opposing views are printed next to one another in separate columns. The entire article is boarded to show it’s a debate. Readers can then make up their own minds. It is actually more powerful than a TV debate which often gets out of hand and confusing. The printed, considered responses next the questions makes it really easy for a reader to grasp the essence of a debate. The newspaper still has an important role in deciding which issues to report, and can tackle contentious subjects its readers want published, but the

newspaper is left looking very impartial. Good for the readers, good for the newspaper, good for the winners of the debates.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper?
Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?
- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community?
How could it fulfil your expectations better? Use Dual Column Reporting.
- Would you like to add anything?

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 9

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?
Magaliessig; five years.
- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, ward councillor, residents' association committee member?
Resident; member of residents' association.
- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Every week.
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Yes. Not sure. Four or five times?
- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes.
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

To keep up to date with what's happening in the suburb and surrounds, to see what residents in the area are saying (in the letters section) and to find local products and services.

- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
I read the news section, mainly because it affects me personally as a resident and because the residents' association needs to keep abreast of what's happening in the community. I don't read the supplements at all.

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

Some of them. Others don't read it. I imagine that people who view it as important see it as a source of hyper-local news, which they won't find elsewhere. I can't speak for all community members though.

- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?

Sometimes it does. Occasionally I think that standard of reporting and sub-editing could be improved.

- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?

I believe that real issues sometimes get left out to make way for fluff. Although things like council policy, land use, and upcoming community meetings and events are not "sexy" news items, they are relevant to the people living and working in Fourways and surrounding areas. I'd include an "In brief" column with small snippets of news that people need to know that didn't make it into the main news section due to space constraints.

In terms of the actual reporting, I've had the experience more than once of being misquoted. I've also had journalists quote me as a

spokesperson when I've specifically pointed out that I'm not and directed them to the relevant people at the residents' association. Once, I told a reporter that I wasn't sure of the date of something that had happened, but that person quoted me as though I was, and gave an incorrect date. Accuracy could definitely be improved.

As a journalist myself, I know that anything I say (or email) to a reporter may end up in the news, but many other people who are not involved in the media industry aren't as cautious. I fear that many people have conversations with *Fourways Review* reporters (particularly if they've phoned the newspaper to suggest a story) without knowing that notes are being taken on what they're saying to be quoted and used in print. I feel it's only fair to warn people, even if it's just by saying, "Let me just get my pen and notepad before we chat."

- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?

I don't know. I can't speak for the Fourways community.

In my opinion, the newspaper does a decent job of covering local news and publicising local concerns.

- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

Yes. Occasionally I am irked by sloppy journalism in the paper, including getting the facts wrong or just plain bad writing.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?

It could tie hyper-local news into bigger trends within the city and province (where relevant).

- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Mostly.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?

No. That's not the role of a newspaper.

- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?

Can't think of one.

- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?

Publishing news. Yes, generally.

- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

Yes. See above responses.

- Would you like to add anything?

PRELIMINARY RESPONDENT 10

Questions on your interaction with *Fourways Review*

- Which suburb do you live in and how long have you lived in the Fourways area?

Sun Valley/Kyalami – 10 years

- What is your role in the community, for example, resident, social worker, and ward councillor, resident's association committee member?

Vice chairman Kyalami Conservancy

- How often do you read your local community newspaper, *Fourways Review*?
Every week
- Have you ever written a letter to the newspaper or been a source for a story? How often have you been interviewed by the newspaper's staff?

Often.
- Do you feel that *Fourways Review* is a paper for the community with community interests at heart?
Yes
- Why do you read *Fourways Review*?
For community updates.
- What is your favourite section to read in *Fourways Review* and why?
Front page then other near front – community news

Questions on whether *Fourways Review* meets your expectations

- Do you think community members believe that *Fourways Review* is relevant and important, and why?

Yes, nowhere else can you get community info.
- Does the quality of *Fourways Review* meet your expectations?
Yes
- What would you change about the newspaper, from the content to the way it reports?
Diepsloot could be added, recycling, bylaws. Also important to ask advertisers to use paper that can be recycled for their inserts.
- Does the Fourways community believe *Fourways Review* is 'their' newspaper, in terms of feeling that it belongs to them and serves their interests adequately?
Yes.
- Have any articles made you angry at *Fourways Review*, and why?

Yes, reporter did not get the correct information before getting story out.

- How could *Fourways Review* serve the interests of the public better?
Section of bylaws, in fact of country's by laws. Green section educating residents on recycling.
- Do you trust *Fourways Review* to report accurate news in an ethical manner?

Yes.

- Would you prefer the community newspaper to advocate issues for the community more rather than report objectively, and why?
Yes, stick to the bylaws, educate residents.
- Can you relate a circumstance where you believe the newspaper could have served the interests of the public better? Why do you think the newspaper did not help adequately?
Road closure, Bridal Pass – reporter did not do her homework.
- What do you believe is the role of a community newspaper? Do you believe that *Fourways Review* is adequately fulfilling this role in the Fourways community?
Makes residents aware of issues and that someone cares enough to do something about it.
- Is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the content and role that a community newspaper should play in a community? How could it fulfil your expectations better?

Yes.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SUB-PROBLEM ONE

Questions on readers' backgrounds

Please state your name and which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

How long have you lived in this suburb?

Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

How long are your commutes to and from work?

How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Questions on readers' interest in general and local news

Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

How often do you keep up with news in general?

How do you access most of your news?

Questions on readers' interest in *Fourways Review*

Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website? Do you use the content of the paper and website together?

Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

[Sections are: crime, news, metro news, opinion, community, schools, entertainment and sport.]

What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Questions on readers' expectations of *Fourways Review*

What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

What are your best parts of the newspaper?

What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watch dog?

To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

If so, can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news? (For example, to help you solve your problem, raise awareness)?

To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do? (Take your story to another publication, approach someone in a higher position in the company, write a letter to the paper?)

Have you ever done this?

To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

What influences you to read the newspaper? (For example, because it is on your doorstep, because you have a genuine interest in local news)

Why do you think you have those expectations? (For example, you have seen other people's problems solved through the newspaper)

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SUB-PROBLEM TWO

Questions on community members' emotional attachments to the community

Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community? What does/doesn't give you think gives (or does not give) you that sense of belonging?

How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Questions on how the Fourways community members' interactions in the community stimulate their use of *Fourways Review*

How well do you know your neighbours? (How often do you speak to them?)

Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SUB-PROBLEM THREE

Questions for *Fourways Review* journalists, sub-editors and editors

Please state your name and your title on the newspaper?

How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Have you held any other positions on the newspaper and if so, what were they?

What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Do you have a degree or diploma, and if so, what field is it in?

Have you ever worked for a provincial or national newspaper? If so, what are some of the differences that you have experienced between such publications and the community newspaper?

Questions to establish community ties

Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

(For those who live within *Fourways Review*'s distribution area) Do you believe that living within the *Fourways Review* distribution area helps you to assess the community's needs more accurately?

(For those who do not live within *Fourways Review*'s distribution area) To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

To what extent do you participate in community events?

Questions on how the journalists, sub-editors and editors serve the community

How do you gather news for the newspaper?

How often do you interact with community members?

How do the majority of these conversations take place? On the phone, over email or in person?

What news values are the most important to you?

To what extent do you believe your news values are in line with the fellow staff members on *Fourways Review*?

How do you decide whether something is newsworthy?

To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding what to report on?

To what extent do you consider the readers and what they would like to read when deciding the newsworthiness of stories?

To what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding reporting on stories?

To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Can you remember an example of such a sensitive story?

To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

How are difficult decisions regarding content made?

Who makes the final decision on such matters in the newsroom?

How often do such difficulties arise?

How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Are the pressures by advertisers or community members subtle or overt?

How often do such pressures arise?

Can you recall an experience where you were pressured into not publishing or retracting a story due to pressures from community members or advertisers? If so, describe the instance and how the resolution was made.

How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

How often do such instances arise?

Are there any mechanisms that you use to publish sensitive stories in a way that will not upset the community? If so, what are they?

Questions on how the journalists, sub-editors and editors view their roles

What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

How would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

How would you define your role in the Fourways community?

What has influenced how you have defined this role?

What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Why do you believe they are “influential voices”?

Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant “voice” in the newspaper?

Who would you say are the marginalised community members?

To what extent do you aim to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Where do you generate your story ideas from?

To what extent do your own views of what is important for the community to know guide the stories that you report on?

To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

How do you know what the community wants to read?

How much time do you spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what you as a journalist/editor think the community ought to know?

What are some of the ethical problems that you have had to deal with?

To what extent do you base ethical decisions on universal rules or make decisions on individual contexts?

To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

How does your view of how a journalist should report influence the way you as a community journalist/editor define your role in the community?

APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR SUB-PROBLEM ONE

RESPONDENT 1

Respondent 1: Off the top, one thing that really irritates me is when you have three-quarters of a page advert and one column editorial, it hardly grabs my attention because this *points to advert* is irritating me. If you look at how most of the other papers do their advertising, it's usually a top-half, bottom-half advertising. I mean, this doesn't interest me at all. Maybe some people are paying for it and maybe they get some good out of it, but personally I don't do anything here. The only time that I will look at adverts is the pull-outs. So keep the advertising together. This [editorial] is probably important, and something they want people to read, but this [advert] blocks my eye and I just turn over the page.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Sun Valley?

Respondent 1: 15 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 1: I work here as well. I used to work in town, because I moved out here because I wanted to have horses. I have always had horses at ICB.

Interviewer: And so you have been connected to the area for some time?

Respondent 1: I've had a horse in the area since 1992.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, and attend community events?

Respondent 1: I would say quite. I have been on and off the residents' association since 2005/2004, I started Gekco, I started the Greater Kyalami

Council, I put the new alliance together too. I have been pretty much involved without going mainstream politics.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 1: It's horses for courses. I have always cared. I have always been an activist of some sort. I have always had a nose in things, and needed things to be justified and correct. Unfortunately there are some people who have a home, have a shop, and run the gauntlet in between and they don't care what happens in between. Somebody has to have some sort of righteous feel for what is going on somewhere down the line, and try to direct it or try to protect it. There's a minority that really care about the area, and I think the rest are happy to just chug along and try to take whatever is being thrown at them, and just be part of it.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 1: It's the nature of my job, I have to be up-to-date with current affairs.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 1: I stream Reuters all day there. Most of it is online. 95 percent of what I do is online. I can go two-weeks without getting in a car, so unless a newspaper is coming to me, I'm not going to see a newspaper. I go twice-a-week to play tennis down the road and that's when I collect my *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 1: I read it weekly. I'm one of those readers. I'm very much a headline reader, and if it grabs my attention then I will read it. I am a skim-reader and I can go through this in three minutes or 30 minutes.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 1: Once off, it's a cover-to-cover and that's it.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 1: No, I go cover-to-cover. But I do do editor's stuff, I do do letters and stuff because for me are quite important and it's a barometer of what people are thinking for what people want for the local community. And that's how I go through it. And now, "Pick your battles carefully," *points to a page* now that's quite a nice headline for me, and so I will then have a good look at that.

Interviewer: Are you dependent on the headline with a story?

Respondent 1: I hate things that are wrongly headlined. If it is just there to get my attention and has nothing to do with the story, then I get very cross, so that kind of false selling does kind of irk me. And I do follow the reporters. But I do it especially in the more mainstream newspapers too.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you?

Respondent 1: Mostly I think they get it spot on because I think they know where all the sensitive parts are in these communities, and you know which buttons to push.

Interviewer: How often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 1: Nine times out of 10 you will turn to page three from here anyway, so I know I am going to leave here and turn there anyway, so it doesn't influence me because I am going to get there anyway.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 1: No, I'm not going to go up there and then turn to page 28 and then go back again, no, I'm not going to do that.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 1: I've never gone from here to there. It would be very independent. I do look at the online stuff but quite independently to this. But I will always go there if I am looking for specific references to certain or various stories. I will go and do searches on the *Fourways Review* and see all the stories in connotation. I will do it that way. And then relevance on timelines series as well. I will go onto the opinion page, the local news, municipal news, whatever it is called. Pretty general. Because I do this * points to the paper* every week, I don't use that unless I am looking for something specific.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: I'm interested in the area. I'm interested in what's going on. It's gossip, it's actually not enough gossip, it's nice to know what's going on, what pressures are coming and what's going on. I think there's far too much advertising in these little papers. I would love a lot more content. They could write a bit more.

Interviewer: Are sections that you don't read?

Respondent 1: I am very tired of the doggy pages.

Interviewer: Is there a reason for it?

Respondent 1: Over exposed. Completely over exposed. I like good content. I am sure there is a level for all of this to fulfil the vast readership. Something like this *points to a neighbourhood story* you know it's a nice feely good story I would probably just glance over it, and *AutoDealer* I would just do this *pulls it out of the newspaper and puts it to the side*. I love looking at all the sports and schools. The sports stuff interests me, the schools interests me, the municipality issues interest me, the police issues interest me, and obviously all the equestrian stuff interests the hell out of me, I like seeing all the equestrian stuff. I don't do smalls. I like all of this stuff. Nine times out of 10 this [back page] is equestrian, which I think is marvellous. They are talking to this community and it's very equestrian-orientated.

Interviewer: What are your best parts of the newspaper and what are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 1: Advertising is a necessary evil and I've learnt to blank it, mostly, but unfortunately I think almost two-thirds of the newspaper is advertising and quite frankly I don't know if it is required to be as much. You know, you are getting a lot of advertising in, and little content. If they could try to get it to fifty-fifty, I think it would be better. Without the pull-out supplements, there isn't really a lot here.

There are a lot of people in the area that write. They could promote these people writing for them. People write things all the time. Look at Facebook. They could call them up and copy and paste – done. They've got an article if they pick up interesting things. There is a lot happening, and a lot of conflict – use it, and tell the story.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 1: I think they can sometimes be a bit too focus instead of general. For example, this R55 upgrade, now it's a hell of a story, that. I have been picked on as a person that stopped the upgrade. All that happened when it came for them to apply for the water use licence for them to apply to actually

go and get it done, I said guys, just stop. Look then I said let's go to the plans of the thing, and when a double highway comes through here, the extra water catchment that comes through here is enormous, and the downstream effects are enormous, and there's no downstream planning for what will happen.

I think the paper needs to reach out to all of the residents associations and say, "Feed me stories." Like I do sometimes. Because I think I give ideas of interest. It doesn't always need to be my story but certainly there are issues there that need to be addressed and I try to be very positive to Region A, except for Region A police.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 1: Well you know I had that big run-in with what's her name at Midrand. I had a very specific, that story specifically and it was very important that it was put out accurately and she messed it up badly. I was very cross and I said please, I will be very cross if it doesn't come out like this, and I said to her, if you don't do it like this, know the wrath of me will come back and bite you. I said, please, I know your policy not to send me your copy, but please I would really like to see it. I think if somebody is going to take it upon themselves to misrepresent the situation, then they must suffer for it. Report, and report, but if something is important, report properly. Generally with everything else I will say quote me, don't quote me, it's easy, I've got no problems in these issues.

I always try to step back and say can I see it that way [the way it is reported] as well. So I do manage that quite a lot. Sometimes I do think that it is a bit of pandering to one side or another, and then you've just got to sometimes use the reporters' imagination sometimes as well. They've got to make it interesting.

Going back to the alliance, it was a press release and the journalist had taken it to other people, and I was saying I don't care, it's supposed to be a media release, just print it, done and dusted. And you know, that wasn't the only case.

There was the one before that. The alliance is going from strength to strength. It's representing 680 households, it is the biggest single voice in Kyalami.

Interviewer: And do you think that *Fourways Review* has done enough for that voice?

Respondent 1: No, no, and the thing is, unfortunately other people have a big voice, and I was actually key in growing that voice. Last I heard they had 61 members at their AGM and say they represent the area. They just can't say stuff like that. You can't just assume. There are democratic principles that need to be followed.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* should be playing a role?

Respondent 1: I think some of the things that they report on them could certainly be a bit more balanced, they are good and they do good things but we set it up as an organisation to protect the environment, and they must stick to that.

Interviewer: Do you see it as the paper's role to look into that?

Respondent 1: They certainly could be a little more balanced on that. There's a big function at the end of the month. The ward councillor said no, they don't want it. You know that's usually this area's stance on these things. Now, all of a sudden a residents' association turned around and said, sorry councillor you're out of line, we actually do want it. And now there's another kickback because a whole lot of other residents are saying they also don't want it and actually the residents association is not constituted, so there's a growing battle on that side. So that's, there is stuff happening there. But there is some juicy reporting on stuff like that.

Interviewer: So do you believe that the reporting is too conservative?

Respondent 1: Very. I'm a person where a spade's a shovel. If the police or the government or Region A is doing something wrong, then don't pussy-foot around them, say it.

Don't pull punches. Praise them when they are doing good, but give it to them when they don't. I think that if they just went around and spoke to people in this area. Any area. Go to the grassroots and they will tell you horrific stories.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 1: I think it is a good summary, they probably could get a lot deeper. It's a good overview, it's a light overview. I think they could have a lot more fun with it. The fights are ultimately with service delivery issues.

Even the schools, there are lots of schools here. There's so much happening, sports all day, every day. If they wanted to add another page of schools, all they would need to do is to tell the schools to submit stuff, and they will do it. It's important. There are community things, schools love that exposure and they wouldn't have to just sit with the private schools. There are many other schools too.

Schools can definitely be built up because I think it is the basis of the community. There is a lot happening in the sports too with the equestrian facility that has been put up. I was called in to help on the environmental side of things. Part three of the act is to uphold the equestrian ethos of the area, and then they are opposing it. I am sorry, if someone is prepared to spend R40 million on an investment that will promote equestrian sport, and you won't allow it. It just doesn't make sense.

Interviewer: And what role do you think *Fourways Review* would serve in reporting on a story like that?

Respondent 1: I would have given my side, he could have given his and then from them and then they could write what they like. As long as they report

accurately on someone's view. I don't think something like that you want to mediate. You actually want to say this person, this person and this person and this is what they had to say. And I would quote its constitution, which will embarrass them but they will have to answer that.

Interviewer: And what role do you think the paper plays?

Respondent 1: Especially the City. When you highlight downstream effects and community issues where they are failing, which is obviously where we want it reported, because we need to expose it. There is the whole thing that there is no bad press, but there is bad press. Because of what we're up against in trying to protect this area, you are up against serious bribery and corruption, and we are not in a position to take these people to court. There's no money, there's no inclination, nobody wants to step out and do that. So, what's left, name-and-shame.

Interviewer: And so is that how you see *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: To be crass, yes. It's education, it's name-and-shaming, it's however you want to do it, but the thing is, and I know you have a lot of other areas to contend with but, by-and-large certainly Kyalami is pretty much behind an open space, equestrian ethos, and you know, you can't even argue against that. But, the City is allowing it to happen. And so if the City is allowing it to happen, why is it that this person that owns this property, gets more of a say than the 25 people who lives on his boundary. You know, that is one vote to 25 votes. Why is it happening?

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 1: I'm hoping, it's like what I'm doing with Save Kyalami. You know, I don't pull punches in that sort of thing and I'm just saying, stuff it, and I am going to go out on a limb on these sorts of things, and so far, I haven't had a liable case against me. I think it's going to be hard for them to prove it. Nothing

I've said so far is untrue, and it's, I would use the paper to do that as well. That would be my objective.

Interviewer: Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 1: Ultimately you've got to cater for the tennis clubs, catering clubs, not that I've seen many mothers read this book [newspaper], you know with toddlers running around, being the *Fourways Review*. I've seen the Dads read it. My wife never reads it. But I think they need to try to cater to everything, because the demographics in Fourways are probably very different to Kyalami. So they've got to play that balance. But they could double the size of this. And push boundaries.

Look there's a lot of soft stuff that needs to go into these, but I think where you can, where you have your letters pages, your letters to the editor, the opinion pages, stuff like that, municipal pages, ya, be rough and tough there. Do what you were trained to do. I'm sure they're really tired of doing these types of reporting, so go for it, you know investigative reporting, stick with something. For example, we hear all the time that there's, this entity has got an investigation against them, another has got an investigation against them. But we're never hearing anything about it. You know, maybe you want to put a journalist onto it and see, are they being investigated?

Interviewer: Do you think the paper is lacking longer, investigative pieces?

Respondent 1: I would live on them. And I know a lot of people here would. If there was some good, thorough investigating going on. I would enjoy it more. As I say, a lot of it is light.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 1: No, I like photos. It's good, it works for me. I know that there's some articles where you're not going to have pictures, but certainly where you

can put a photo in, it stops somebody. It's how long a written newspaper is going to last. As long as you can sell that *points to the adverts* you can keep this *points to newspaper* going. So go balls to wall. I mean, if you've got this *points to the adverts* backing up this *points to newspaper*, then you know, go for it. Certainly if I was ever editor of this, I would be saying, let me loose. I think you can afford to be a bit more controversial. Pick on people.

Interviewer: When you have contacted *Fourways Review* journalists to work on a story? To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 1: I've had one bad experience, when something didn't happen at all, and I didn't get any feedback on it. I think if someone is taking the time and effort to make a contribution to the newspaper, I think give of them the time of day back. Just send them the paragraph back and say, is it all alright? Don't ask them to spell-check, grammar, that's your job, just say the meaning, is the meaning okay? That's all you can ever hope for. Because, I think retracting stuff afterwards or apologising is not going to happen. It's also going to prevent that person from opening up to you again.

Interviewer: Did your experience deter you from the newspaper?

Respondent 1: Ya, if she [the journalist] contacts me again, I'm not going to answer the phone. There's a guy that works there that also irritates me. One would expect a guy to understand English. I found myself repeating myself a hell of a lot, you know, and I'm saying but I've told you this. And then he says and this, and this and this, and I said, no, that's not what I said, it's exactly the opposite. He was trying to put words in my mouth. I found him quite leading and not listening. He really wasn't listening to what I was saying. And if he's going to do it over the phone, then he's got to pay attention. You know, if you're doing it one-on-one, then it's easy you've got this *points to recording device* and you're writing notes straight away. But if you're doing it over the phone, you've got to pay attention. I will help people where I can, but to a point.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 1: I know when I've sent stuff in, letters to the editor, I would like a reply to say we have received it, or we are going to use it or not going to use it. I've written a few things, and it's just gone into thin air and no one has said anything about it and it's just one into thin air, whereas I think if someone is going to take the trouble to write something, you know, just acknowledge it. And I know there was something a while back and I thought it was a scoop, and I said you could either publish it as a letter or run with it as a major story, but I said, if you're going to run with it as a major story, don't quote me. And I said that in the letter, and neither happened. To me, it was something very juicy and controversial, and I think someone decided, okay, it was just too juicy and controversial, and they just didn't want to step on toes.

Interviewer: Do you think that happens a lot at the paper?

Respondent 1: Let me put it this way, I am yet to be convinced that you guys are going to go up against the likes of big developers or something like that. They carry a lot of clout. I think people need to know that no one likes developers. When we say that someone said that they can't wait for every horse in the area to be dead, you know that is their objective that needs to be reported. Meanwhile, they talk about the exclusivity of the horse riding community, meanwhile he runs a multimillion rand event, I mean, how exclusive is that and a waste of privateers money, and he picks on the equestrian community. He says all that, and they report on that, but they don't report on the other side of it. I just think that when they, developers gets lifted up. It's always positive, positive, positive and not negative.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a reason for that?

Respondent 1: They are potentially advertisers. There's a big conflict of interest in stuff like that. Not that I see developers ever advertise with you guys, but still. Certainly another developer, it's a big chunk of the area, but what

they're doing with the road, why's that not being reported on? That is his private driveway. He is paying for his driveway to Midrand. I could write an article on it and it would be five pages and I would lambaste him from day one to day 395.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 1: I used to think it was Midrand, but that has a very different look and feel. I do identify with *Fourways Review*. The only thing is, from a, especially from a crime reporting side of it, you sit with Douglasdale, and you unfortunately don't get the Midrand side of it, the Sector 4, which is this side of Midrand. It's only Douglasdale police, and they maybe need to make contact with the Sector 4 guys here so that they can actually get a bit of Midrand crime stuff.

RESPONDENT 2

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Bryanston?

Respondent 2: In the actual area make it eight years.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 2: I am. Through the DA, which I resigned from, and then we had massive electrical problems. And you know, no one is neighbourhoody. You know, they just don't, so we got to know our neighbours quite well because of the issues with the electricity but I help out with the First Realty, the estate agents, on Sundays, so it keeps me busy, and I said just watch these guys and then we had massive problems by our substation, some guy had built is wall right on our cables, so we got quite involved with the community through that, which was a first. So, I get on with my neighbours.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 2: For me, very. Except, it doesn't happen.

Interviewer: Why is that?

Anon: It's quite interesting because it is almost as if everybody has isolated themselves, and it is a big shock for me because I'm actually from Durban where I lived in a community where everybody knew your name. We all looked after each other, the boys went to school at St Andrews, and so they grew up with the sense that everybody just had to do the best for each other or else they would be out, so it's very difficult for me here. Like the next-door neighbours, I got a beautiful Siamese cat for my birthday, but they have no animals and they've got bird feeders, and it was that cat's paradise. So I had to re-home my cat. But we get in, but I understand their position. But up the road they have an old Gogo, and she often comes for tea with me, because I am used to that. When I was with the DA I asked them to please, please, please, bring a sense of community back by making us all involved, like get everyone to clean up their pavement. Oh no, they all said, we pay our taxes, the municipality must do it. They are not going to do it! Get back our sense of community, and they weren't interested in doing it. Whereas, we found the benefits of doing it. In a small way, with the electricity drama, when we finally all worked out that there was a problem, we got it fixed. So, that's where I stand on that.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 2: Oh yes, we get newspapers delivered. Eyewitness News, the radio. And if I'm bored I will flick to Sky News. The whole family is interested in news, but we don't take it that seriously.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 2: All the mediums.

Interviewer: How often do you read your local newspaper?

Respondent 2: Every week, because I read a lot. Deliveries are erratic. I sometimes I see it at the library or at the shops. Sometimes at Bryan Park

shops. I also go to, there would be better if they put them in the shopping centres. People will pick them up.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 2: There is not a lot to read, because it irritates me, that big fat thing in the middle. But I understand it goes with the business.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 2: I start at the beginning and work my way to the end. I like to hear, the crime reporting is very interesting. I noticed there were some very good electricity articles about a guy with his electricity problems and he said to the electrician that if you put in a fuse here it will work, and I thought but this is how we all feel about the service providers and to see that someone is taking a step forward and doing something about it, I thought that was brilliant. If there could be lots of stories to encourage people to be helping hands. Loved reading that. I thought it was one of the best stories I have read.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 2: No, not really.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page stories interest you?

Anon: Not noticeably. I enjoy reading what people are doing in the community. I like the personal stories. I like the human interest stories. But I think that women like to read that sort of stuff. And then they say, ooh look that happened in our area as well. Something relevant to what is happening to all of us. I mean look at this, "Rider takes charge" *points to the front page headline*. I mean, it is interesting for me because I ride but I am thinking of my other friends. It's not quite relevant for them.

Interviewer: Is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 2: Well I am a bit out of the schools, I just glance at it.

Interviewer: Sections are: crime, news, metro news, opinion, community, schools, entertainment and sport.

Respondent 2: It's a nice format, you just go through it and look at the articles. It's not a lot of rubbish.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 2: I've always enjoyed being under the radar. Even as a young girl, I've wanted unlisted phone numbers. Me, personally I used to hate being in the newspaper. Strangers used to accost me on the street. Strangers used to follow your career in the newspaper. That's why I say, don't mention my name. I don't need it, I don't like it, I like to keep under the radar. I'm not on Facebook, which suits me, so I don't write, I don't respond.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 2: Only when Friends of the Bryanston Library have expressed an interest in having the articles put onto the website, otherwise no.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 2: Oh no, it's very chatty, it's high. It's readable and it's interesting. I never pick up any spelling mistakes. I am comfortable reading the paper.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 2: Nobody is encouraged to, nobody is encouraged to get involved or come forward. At least not with anybody that I know. So, it's all been, everybody is being exposed to it, but no one has stood up and taken the lead.

Interviewer: So, do you read the local newspaper to see what everybody is doing in the local community?

Respondent 2: Yes, it stops there. And I don't know if you can take it forward. Everybody is a bit lost. I find that with so many people. They all like to do it, they say, oh we all pay our taxes, but everybody is a bit scared to do it.

Interviewer: And does the local newspaper fulfil that role?

Respondent 2: Yes, it keeps us informed.

Interviewer: Is there anything that the newspaper could do to fulfil that role a little better?

Respondent 2: I'm just thinking of all the Morningside tea ladies. They all get deliveries, for some reason. And my sister-in-law will say, oh I've got the newspaper today. And I say oh good, I must read it. And I see that it is always prominently displayed in homes. Fourways I see it's, when I painted my home recently, all the paint shops are that side. They always had a *Fourways Review* displayed which I thought was good. And the 90-year-old guy who died, Colin, he always said I should put articles in *Fourways Review* because there is a big readership.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 2: I know you need the ads but they are a bit distracting, the ads. The editor is always quite chatty, again, it is a nice chat.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 2: No, it's always a pleasure to get one. I am always excited when it is delivered. And I know from others, everyone likes that the paper is coming their way. They like it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think the paper is the voice of the community?

Respondent 2: It is very good. It is very important. As I say, I know from contributing, letting people know that we are giving people a service to the community has resulted in so many more people coming [to the Bryanston Library] but without remarking on it. So it works, it does work.

Interviewer: What was your reasoning for approaching the newspaper for Bryanston Library?

Respondent 2: Yes, they had spoken about it. I believe that had been speaking about it for quite some time, and then I joined and I said, okay, well, leave it with me and I sort of wrote up something and I sent it to Juliet to see if she approved, and then I sent it to the paper. And then the response to look for articles, I was so chuffed, because this was something strange for me here.

Interviewer: Was that the first time that you had contacted the paper?

Respondent 2: No, well for my work we used to send out press releases, and we were hounded by the press, so it was easy. But this was something quite different. And I felt quite embarrassed coming forward. It was different. Because it was small.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 2: Oh yes, the electricity situation. We contacted the local newspaper the *Randburg Sun* through the ward councillor Mike Wood. I was very aware of how he used the newspaper. I think that people were all a little scared. I didn't want my name attached and then they jump over the wall. Peter next door was the same. People are terrified. It's a reality, and it's not talked about. Strange.

Interviewer: Why do you think they called the local community newspaper?

Respondent 2: To bring awareness, to say, look at what the DA is doing, so it is multi-faceted. It is carrying stories about the local community, what's being done. But then again, me being on the periphery. They are also reluctant to use the newspaper. They are also a bit nervous. You know, and I know the benefit of media. But the people I'm with are reluctant.

Interviewer: Why do you think they are reluctant?

Respondent 2: Because of fear, not understanding.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 2: I don't think they are at that stage yet. It's just the vibe that I get from them. "This should be in the paper." "Oh, can you arrange it?" Like I am talking about the *Randburg Sun*. I say with pleasure but it's got to be accurate. I can only talk for myself personally, I can't do more because they're up here and I'm down here. But I know how brilliant the media is, but I don't think they are all that aware.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 2: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 2: Very easy. Everybody was very receptive, easy to talk to and you know, it was quite a step for me because it has been years since I was in that position, so I couldn't believe it was coming my way again. So I felt also a bit nervous about bringing the paper's attention to Friends of the Bryanston Library and even the DA. And I was so surprised everybody was to receive news. It was brilliant. No, I can't speak more highly.

Interviewer: Do you find the teams accessible?

Respondent 2: It was easy to find the numbers, if you leave a message, they call you back. It works.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 2: At the library, they were suddenly not receiving the national papers. So they asked me to get in touch with them to try to see if we could get a free copy. And I found it quite difficult to get a response. I did in the end but I think it was one paper that didn't. Whereas with the local newspapers, it was easy, it was comfortable and we got results, and co-operation. No arguments, promptness, wonderful.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 2: Yes, it is mine. I don't want any one of the others. It is my home community. I am just thinking of my sister-and-law again saying this is "my" paper. Not really, there is a sense of, this is my, personally delivered, area paper.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 2: I love reading about the clean-ups of the spruits. I appealed to the DA to get the community more involved. But where we are situated here, is right at the end of Ward 104. These are all DA voters. I don't know if the geography explains the reluctance. That's politics. It's just me trying to find an explanation. Where are our clean ups. We even spoke that we must ask Bryanston Country Club to do this verge, but then they lose impetus.

RESPONDENT 3

Interviewer: Which suburb do you live in?

Respondent 3: Fourways

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 3: I work from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 3: Almost too much. Helping with fighting the crime. Helping with businesses, trying to stimulate local economic activity. We predicted this four years ago that this was going to happen, and it's happened so we're just trying to keep things moving and we're being a little bit selfish with Fourways and Midrand and Centurion, that area, we're trying to protect it. And, I think the biggest thing for change is bringing black entrepreneurs in townships with white ones, if I can put it that way. There is a race thing because white businesses and white people are not venturing into the townships, understandably their scared and I don't know how to bridge that culture and I have been doing that with 60 people every month but it's spreading and we need to do it on a big scale.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 3: It's critical. Communication is critical and in the case of the *Fourways Review*, I don't really know of any other platform. Television is too broad, there's no community radio station per say that focuses on the area so, as you go down the chain of communication you have a newspaper. And, even the newspapers are too broad to cover the area. And then you can look at digital but the problem with digital communication is that it's not really verified. I know with newspapers, journalists make a point of checking before they publish, so at least it's reliable. It spreads very fast, so it can be devastating. Digital as much as Twitter and all those things are all fine, they are tools to say, hey, we've got this great story on an oil tanker, and help pull, bring attention back to that.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 3: Two hours a day between online, TV and anything that comes through, because I need to find the temperature of things as they happen for my business.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 3: The moment it comes out.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 3: Because it's the only reliable news of what's happening where we live. This newspaper here called The Star, there's not a single article in here about Fourways, Midrand or anything, it's just the budget but I mean, the budget is the budget so if you are involved in the local community, that doesn't help you. After reading *Fourways Review*, I then need to go and look it up because sometimes the phone numbers or addresses are not put there, so I do spend a little time looking up a community organisation or this thing that happened and then, if you want to get involved, you can dig in. So, it's an invaluable source of local content, and that's important.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 3: About an hour, because I don't do the classifieds, I don't do the sport. Crime I would glance at. It's the middle, it's the smaller stuff, the community activities, possible speakers, possible announcements from the City, I know they come through from there. So, I tend to look at the middle. Crime is too much. It takes up the first two pages and it's too much. It would be nice to move that around a bit there.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 3: Front to back. The other papers I would read back to front but this one, I read front to back because the back really has no interest, the front does. On this, I would take out all the ads and put them over there and then I would scan, scan, scan and then I would still go through the ads, I am always looking for a good deal and then I tell people, hey listen, if you want a good deal on milk, Spar this week has got cheap milk, so I tell people to help them because everybody is trying to save money.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 3: I'm finding, pleasantly surprised that the Fourways paper doesn't go on too much sensationalism. You know, there are some papers that say, "I ate my neighbour's dog!" I am glad that we don't do that kind of thing because then it becomes trashy. I see the Fourways as a communication device, I think they try, and having been a publisher, I was a publisher for Junk Mail, so I understand the constraints they are going through, I understand that they have a lot of revenue, things they have to hit, and it's a mission trying to balance all those kind of things, so they have to be careful of what they put on the front but regardless to what they put on the front, people will still read it because they have a captive audience. Nobody's paper comes to the door, for

free every week. Nobody's does that, so, to be arrogant, the readers don't have a choice. Whatever is on the front page, they will still pick it up and they will still read it. So, they could have a sexy sensational thing, they could have a boring one, it doesn't matter, they will open it up and read it, so they don't need to grab everyone's attention because they have a captive audience.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 3: I glance at those but I still do the normal process of page by page, unless it's a real striking headline. Now, where that changes is on the website. Where those are on the side, I would click and go through to them but on a newspaper it is a logical process [to read front to back] so, it is quite different what you do offline compared to what you do online.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 3: Only on articles that are really of interest or of the ones that I really want to comment on. One could go to the Facebook pages but I find the difficulty is that there's no, like a filing cabinet on it. On the Facebook page it's all over the place. So, to be able to categorise and to go in by week or by story will help because when you start searching for it then you kind of thing, well urg! You want to go in, make a point and get out. On the previous online there was a section where you could go in and make comments. But I was surprised at how few people used that. And now, we have all the other online guys, IOL as of two days ago said no more comments, News24 said no more comments. Because it is getting a bit hectic.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 3: I think it's okay. I have a permanent, the Facebook page and the website is open permanently. I actually read the website more. The Facebook kind of sucks in my input, so, if I'm not really going to put my insight in, then I am not really going to go there, but if I go to the website, everything is there, it comes at me, I can pick and choose what I want to see and I actually spend an equal amount of time commenting on the website as I do on the Facebook. Facebook is not quite there yet but it can be very powerful to support the website.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 3: For the most part it is fine. There are times when you can see when it's a bit rushed and you can see they miss certain things. I don't expect any reporter to publish everything, and some people will send verbal diarrhoea and they have to separate it. On the most part it is good. The important thing is verification and reliability, that they've checked the sources so that we don't get hoaxes and all those types of things. That's important.

Interviewer: Do you think the reporting is reliable?

Respondent 3: Yes, I think so. There's only been one or two in the past two, three years that have been kind of, whoops, we made a mistake. I get 300-400 posts a day, and the Facebook ones, I don't know whether to trust them anymore. There's the big word, trust. In the paper there is trust and with the website, because it is an extension of the paper, there is trust but as soon as you go away from that, you get into dodgy, you never really know.

Interviewer: How do you think that trust has been built?

Respondent 3: Well, it has been built but the newspaper's reputation would demand it, if they didn't put trustworthy, verification articles in it, it would only last one month, it would be finished.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 3: Pretty well everything that's in there. They have local sports at the back. Sometimes, I know that in some of the other papers, like Midrand, it will borrow a lot from the other papers like Rosebank Killarney Gazette, but you will have zero coming from say Alex. And, my reason for saying that is that I spend a lot of time in the townships and the townships have no community vehicles. These people that are here and that are shopping. They have no community vehicle. I think the readership would be much bigger if they started to incorporate Tembisa news, just little things from there. They would feel more connected to the paper, whereas right now, it's like it's here. But over there there's a lot of interesting things. It would also help to break that cultural issue that we have.

Interviewer: Do you think the community newspaper should focus on the wider community?

Respondent 3: Well, it's a dilemma, because they're based in Fourways, they have a dilemma to talk about Fourways-based things. Let's take a percentage, say 10 to 15 percent for other areas that are close like I think Diepsloot is the township closer to Fourways whereas Tembisa is the connector township to Midrand. The circulation should increase and it is these advertisers that would love to get in there because it's a big change for the paper to start doing that, but maybe slowly and then for one or two months, increase the number of stories in the paper about the townships. Taking a few copies and splashing them around Diepsloot and if more people get hold of that, they could have a triple-sized publication which would make a big difference. Like I say, they are the only one that has the opportunity to bridge, but even Facebook, it's a start but from the paper, it has a solid tangible feel. They have a much bigger role than what they think.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 3: It is a voice but there's a reason why, it's because it's the only thing, it's the only communication platform. There's no radio station in Fourways, there's no real other publication, anything else that comes out is more business stuff, it's nothing to do with somebody who builds pots or the highway, the potholes on the highway. Nobody else does that. But, I also feel that however, that people don't appreciate that. There is an interesting dilemma: everybody I know reads the papers but they tend not to do the actions or follow-throughs or really go to the advertisers. I'm not quite sure why that happens. When I go to advertisers I find them very boring in what they're trying to sell. "We have a bag of beans for x-amount", what's so exciting about that? There's no two-for-one or special or win a car, you know, so there's not enough sizzle in that content but as far as community goes, yes, they have, it tries to be the voice of that community. There used to be columns, or there still is periodically columns with the names and pictures of people who say, I don't think that the sanitation is very good, or whatever the case may be, it's like testimonials. It's also viral, because if they see their names then they tell everyone about it and then you also increase your circulation.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 3: Because to try to have your voice heard is very expensive. If you go to the radio station, it will cost you R1 000 to R2 000 to make announcements. The backpage of the *Sunday Times* is R42 000. So, how does a business or a NGO, like a dancing one that's going on and they're trying to get their girls to go to LA, so how do they put it out. You can put it out on Facebook and everybody goes crazy over Facebook, you can get 1 000 likes, but in reality, it means nothing. Just because you can get all these likes, doesn't translate into more people coming to your event or more people buying what you are selling. At least the paper is an option, you've got to send it in on time and you've got to get it in before deadline, possibly an educational meeting or somewhere where it says how to, you know in classifieds we do it, we have a one, two, three, four step on how to do it. I think if they want more inputs, they

need an area where it says how to submit an article: this is the deadline, this is how you send it in. Some education.

Promotion and awareness, simply for more eyeballs to see.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 3: I think a fair bit because by the time they come to the paper, they're frustrated. They've sat on the phone for hours and somebody has promised to come back and nothing has happened, and it's like anything else. As a last resort, people will go to the *Hello Peter*, and to the newspaper and 702 and all of these different things to say, I can't fix this, please, somebody help me. On the flip side, people love to see that they have an issue and it's put into the paper. It makes them feel important, because they recognise. A paper has a lot of clout in that it can create, and people love that, people love their picture taken.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 3: I don't think that much, it's because of a couple of things. I think because it is a weekly thing, and I notice in these papers that there is very little follow-up. There's an incident that might get published, or a complaint, but in the subsequent three or four weeks, there's no follow-up, which is not a bad thing because they have so much to deal with and I can see it would be very difficult to kind of play God and select the kinds of things that they would want to do. I think the only thing there that I am suggesting is that a lot of things that you would need to put in is Diepsloot, not a lot in the beginning but if they have events or if they have a choir thing, they will get so excited if they see it in the paper, even if nobody shows up, but it's in the paper, and the paper is a big thing, and to get their heads around it, but just remember that the advertising would love it. If they can get this stuff, a shopping centre will come with buckets of money because we are all struggling with, how do we get into the community. I mean, they have a mountain bike club and scouts, so they need to be highlighted, the events, and whether it is the promotion of or the follow-up. I

noticed that *Fourways Review* does one of the other but it very rarely does both. It never says this is going to happen on the fifth, then they send a reporter there to take pictures and then have a follow-up. It's never really that, which I understand, they have limited space. But it would be good for somethings. If they gauge their website and Facebook they will probably see that some things attract more interest and maybe that is the gauge, like oh look there are 500 people commenting. Like we had the speed limit on Main Road was dropped, I mean what a stupid idea, but the amount of comments that came about it was ridiculous. I wouldn't have wanted to see a story, because I think it was pointless from the paper's point of view but there was a bit of follow-up but there's a barometer there to tell that good or bad, they're screaming or yelling. And, what the paper is, is almost like a dating service, it's almost like linking up minds. The paper's going to say something and they're going to attract two kinds of people, people who like it and people who don't. But, then in all of those like people, the people who like it can somehow come together and on Facebook they could use, which they don't use, to create forums around certain things, let people talk, the likers can come here and the "dislikers" can go there and let them talk but the paper is the centre-piece they are the one that matches those minds up. It doesn't cost any money, it costs a little bit for someone to set up the page and create groups but it's easy for them to then push people to say well if you read this article, why don't you join this group. Let them talk, because they like to talk.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 3: I read the crime last, it's just that it's overwhelming and in three minutes you can tell, yes, it's a busy week for crime. Period. And you can come back to that. Then you can look at all of the other articles. I do find that it doesn't sectionalise very well, in other words you could find something about a community on page four and then again something about a community after the AutoDealer section. Now, to try to put them all together is a bit difficult. It's almost a matter of space, I know with me often I had to pick stories that really

had nothing to do with the content. It was the size that I needed to put into that spot. It's a terrible way of doing things but it is a matter of what fits. So, sometimes you're not doing it logically, you're doing it because you need it to fit.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 3: Yes, all the time.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 3: Yes, very good, sometimes you send it to them, you don't hear anything and then the article just pops up. Which, it happens a lot. Sometimes they say we think we'll be there and then they don't. I always invite the journalists, sometimes they come, sometimes they don't. But it's fine. I'm glad when they do come. If I think something is important then I will send a follow-up and sometimes it gets published. But it is a community newspaper and it's changing so fast. I know that if the company had its way, there would only be a front page with advertising.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 3: Kind of business, education, things that would help the community, because I want to make the community aware. Using the paper to just point to things that could help you, like come to the market to save some money, come to the market, start a stall and make a little extra money. I know, it happened in the beginning but now, not at all. If they gave me a Caxton or Fourways banner, I would be happy to put it up. Having some collateral there. It makes the event seem bigger as well.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 3: Pretty well. I think everybody would say the same thing, it would be great if they could send us the story so we could do a little editing and adding, only to their satisfaction without bending it too much. But still the opportunity to see it and maybe highlight a couple of the important points that they might have missed and that's it.

They cover it generically. I do find it interesting, what they find interesting is something different to what I find interesting. And that's a cultural thing. All the reporters are black and they look at something different. It's more of a difference of what they believe to be writable or appealing in visuals.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 3: The team, oh fantastic.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 3: Oh no, absolutely. If you go to a paper even like this, The Star, if you try to go through to the website and try to contact them, you send them the information and you never get an answer back, so you only do that twice and then you think, no more. We always seem to get response from *Fourways Review*. Even if it's a no, then it's fine, at least you know, but not knowing and waiting and praying is just the worst.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 3: Yes, 100 percent, because there is no other platform. To the point that I have even offered that when I see something can I write stories, if I get too busy can I help. I'm not a great journalist but I am driving around all the time so if I see things or hear things, if I can pop it into a story for them, I would be happy to do that. So, the offer still stands. I feel so involved that I still want to write for it, to give it as much information as possible.

Interviewer: As a whole, to what extent would you say the paper fulfils your expectations?

Respondent 3: I would say 98 percent. The two percent of what I think is missing, this is hard Terry would say no, I know that. Classifieds is a different animal now but what is missing is kind of a directory. They have a directory on the website, they can't have it on Facebook because it doesn't have that kind of thing. They used to run emergency numbers, that's not there anymore. A directory, a need to know a plumber. Maybe it's an interesting model to say, if you want your name in there, then pay, it would be great to open it up and go to page 17 and there's a directory of plumber or household services. What I have found is that there used to be those police numbers and a lot of people would cut that out and it's on a lot of fridges and maybe it's the same thing, a paper fridge magnet. And, that's very marketable, a real-estate company would say, sure, we'll put our logo there and encourage people to cut it out and paste it there.

RESPONDENT 4

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Fourways?

Respondent 4: I've lived here since 1995, so quite long.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 4: Yes, although my work takes me all around Joburg but my office is in the business centre at the design quarter.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 4: That's about, well, it depends on the traffic, if there's no traffic, it's three minutes and if there's traffic it can be up to 40 minutes.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 4: Well, I am aware of the Norscot Reserve that we have here, I am not on the ratepayers association that we have here or anything like that, no. I do now about meetings and there's also, I'm on a WhatsApp group that's for the area and the Norscot Koppies and so I am aware of the security issues because I am in that group. I'm a trustee here [in this complex].

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 4: Yes, it is important. Very important. These days particularly, I don't think you could have your head in the sand.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 4: Yes, I have a good sense of what's going on.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 4: I don't like buying newspapers very much. I tend to access it online or listen to the radio, 702.

Interviewer: Do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 4: I page through it, yes. I do find it full of adverts, you know it seems like that is what its main purpose is and if you are looking for something, then it's quite useful but otherwise you just page through it.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 4: I only do it once it has arrived.

Interviewer: And do you read it every week that it arrives?

Respondent 4: I kind of do, you know I have kind of got into that habit, but you know, it is literally about going through and looking for interesting articles, you know that sort of thing.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 4: Yes, I just page through it. I like the Options, but that doesn't come out every week, so often what I would do is I would take all of this stuff out and this [the ads] go straight to the recycle bin, I read the Options, I do think that is an excellent sort of insert and then yes, I really just page through it, it really doesn't take long, unless something catches my eye, but it is important, occasionally something does catch your eye.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 4: Well, it really depends. You know, earlier this year I was looking to buy a car and then I would look through all of these ads to find the cars, so that was of use. I never look at superstores, I seldom look at all of these adverts, these deals, you know if I am looking for something then I would take the time to look through there but you know, if I am not, you know general household food, the Checkers and Pick n Pay, I am not generally interested in that sort of thing.

Interviewer: How about in the editorial section of the newspaper? What do you find useful?

Respondent 4: Yes, the crime I think is quite useful, that's something again just to keep one's finger on, the crime you do pick up something that you should know about. I don't know that I read the editorial [opinion] every time. Oh, this one seems to be about the M1 disaster. Well, last week I paged through it and I saw there was something about e-waste and where you could put that, now,

that was of interest to me because often you don't know what to do with that sort of stuff, so you know, those kind of informative articles, they're helpful.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 4: I take it for what it is really. I've never thought really well this could be improved. I suppose the Leisure Options to be honest is the most interesting thing I look at. The rest just gets a cursory glance, really.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 4: Never, I've never noticed them.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 4: Not really, I don't think so. This *points to edition of *Fourways Review** is on cycling and I am not really into cycling so I wouldn't really want to know about it.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 4: I haven't got time for that. I never use it.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 4: Ya, they seem to be fine when I have read them, you know really read them, something that has caught my attention. I have never picked up anything grossly wrong.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 4: It's just a habit to just quickly scan it to see if there is anything that I need to be aware of, that is really what it is about.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 4: I think what would be quite useful, if I think about Fourways, like what would be really useful for me is to have to see what's on at the movies this week at shopping centres. That would, I think, that, I probably would be interested to go to something more. Also, what is happening at the Teatro, the Peter Toerine Theatre, I mean I know from other sources but that sort of thing, considering that those are in the Fourways area, I think that would be most helpful, and markets, for example there was a very nice Farmer's Market over here and I haven't been for a while because I heard somebody say it was closed, now you know it would be nice to know has it closed. I mean, of course I could get up and go up there on a Sunday and find out, but like a diary of what's on in the immediate vicinity. Also, like restaurants, for me, if I was to think about it, for me I would say restaurants in Fourways, Douglasdale and Bryanston maybe, you know new restaurants that have appeared, new cafes, you know, you find things out but there's no real place and that I think would be a real nice addition to the paper.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 4: Well, I mean, all the ads and things, and the sport is, oh no, it's good, I think a lot of people tend to be into sport, I'm not into sport, oh no, it's sweet, you know, it tends to be about the children, you know, local schools and things like that, and why not, you know. It is not of interest to me but it is of interest to the community so, yes, that. There's the property section, ya, sometimes I look at that, but it does tend to be very ad heavy, that's what I always tend to think.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 4: I don't know, is this the voice of the community? Well, the crime certainly is focussed in this area. What else would be the voice of the community? Well, I suppose it is, but it would only be the voice of the community if people were actually contributing to it I guess from the area, I don't know if they do get a lot of local contributors.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 4: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 4: It's still a problem for me living here is the dassies and I remember in 1996 or 1997 approaching the paper and getting, they even took a photo of the devastation reeked in our complex, but that was a long time ago as you can see, and that is the only time that I have every approached the paper.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 4: Well, I think it was a story before it's time and nobody was really interested but in the last year or two the problem became so severe, you know about it, I remember trying to get something on the radio and the people around here were not keen on that at all and then I just abandoned that whole project and I just gave up. And then there was so much, you know it reached a point where it was really bad. For me, that's my main issue in living here, well, yes, it really has to be because you spend a fortune on trying to get the gardens right and they run on the road and the noise at night, you know they wake you up, you know, it's a real problem. You know, I would leave this area based on that. This is a very convenient area for me, it's convenient in terms of work and

the amount of travel I have to do and all that but the dassies are really a problem.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 4: See, I would like the newspaper to be working on an issue like that in a far more proactive way, you know there was a big hoo-ha, there was lots of publicity, they did a whole cull last year but then it died down and you know, there is no one there actively taking things on.

Interviewer: Do you think if the newspaper did report on it more and if it was more in the public eye, there would be an impact in the community?

Respondent 4: I think people who live in this area and have this issue, obviously for people who live further away don't and so it isn't really so for the complexes around the koppies, if they had somebody to champion and, I suppose and be an advocate for the issues in the area, I think the newspaper could play that role. I don't think it does.

Interviewer: Is there a reason why you don't think the newspaper is playing that role?

Respondent 4: They report on issues like the roads and the taxis and all that but I don't know whether anything as a result of that report anything actually changes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 4: I think it can play that role.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 4: No, I don't think they do.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to raise issues?

Respondent 4: Raise awareness or maybe, well I don't know. I can't speak for everyone but I basically see this for the ads and unfortunately I think the ads dominate to such a degree that these little articles, like look over here, there are two huge ads and what is here is two small little articles. I kind of get the feeling that the ads dominate.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 4: I think it would be fine. I suppose I could read through the paper and I would find it somewhere or I would Google it, you know.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 4: Well I think if the issue was local, yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 4: How different is the *Fourways Review* to the *Sandton Chronicle* is a question I would ask as well. But I think if it had more local information like the local movies, the new movies, the restaurants, that kind of information would make it a more useful thing for me.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 4: I think because every now and then you do catch something that you need to know. One does consider the crime thing and you do need to know that because they are focused on this area. So I think it's just for an awareness of what's going on. I live in this suburb and I am not a great fan of living in suburbs because people are very separated in suburbs, unless you walk or run in the streets, you don't see people in the streets. I mean here, there is the park and everybody takes their dog there and that sort of thing so to create a sense of more cohesive community, I think the newspaper could play a bigger role. I know in some areas like Parkview and Parkhurst and that I think

that have an app even where they tell people if there are any crime issues and I think their community policing forum is quite jacked up and I know we had quite a good community policing forum. Now, I know that the last community policing forum meeting I went to was a good five to 10 years ago, so, occasionally you do read something about it. I think the newspaper could play a big role but they would need something like an app, a *Fourways Review* app or something where information was shared, like if a dog went missing or a cat went missing or something like that. Often you need it not once in the week. If the dog goes missing the owner wants the community to know straight away so I think you'd need to go for something like an app straight away.

Often they have something from that FreeMe foundation and that's useful but I think these days you often want an app and people can see it, or a WhatsApp group, you know something as simple as that and that kind of local information could be put on.

Interviewer: In terms of the local crime information, does the newspaper meet your requirements of what you would want to know in the area?

Respondent 4: Well, I happen to know that there has been quite a lot of problems in some of these complexes around here, bordering onto the Norscot Koppies. I know that because I am on this app for the board of trustees for the complexes around there. You see, I don't know what is happening in this whole big Fourways area up here, which is kind of separated by booms, and now what is going on there, now do they have something happening there, and maybe *Fourways Review* is a way of pulling that together.

RESPONDENT 5

Interviewer: Please state your name and which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

Respondent 5: Sunninghill

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 5: 10 years

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 5: Yes – work from home.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 5: Work from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 5: Before having a child, my husband and I never participated in community events. We're starting to partake now that our son requires ongoing excitement & entertainment!

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 5: Very important – most especially from a crime perspective. Reading or hearing a negative story results in me wanting to stay “indoors” at times.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 5: Not too often as it's almost always negative and I refuse to live in fear. Ideally I'd like to know only the positive stories, and less so on the negativity (or reality?!).

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 5: A little bit of everything. Local papers are NB. Occasionally listen to radio whilst stuck in traffic. I don't watch the news on TV as I find it too graphic and depressing!

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 5: To see who I know in the paper and who's doing what 😊 I find that the paper is relevant to me and my world – I know the places, people, companies etc.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 5: Every edition. Occasionally go online too – mostly to check the sports section

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 5: About 30 minutes.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website? Do you use the content of the paper and website together?

Respondent 5: I scan the website about once a month. I'd like to 'share' more of the stories online, but sometimes I find that the link doesn't work.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 5: I always start on the back page and read backwards! Sport is most important as that's my career. If the front page is positive, then I'll turn to the front and start from that side (post reading the sports section of course). Having a 2 year old son, I will now start taking an interest in the schools section as I'm not sure where to send him etc.

[Sections are: crime, news, metro news, opinion, community, schools, entertainment and sport.]

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 5: Is there an events listing section? Even if only available on your website, I find sites like *jhblive*; *bizcommunity*; *themarketingsite*; etc all helpful in finding stuff to do on the weekends. Problem is that the events listed aren't only local – and thus are often too far to travel to etc.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 5: Yes absolutely – I prefer photo's/ pictures to writing as I often don't have enough time to read the whole article.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 5: Yes. Along with the caption to the main photo, this will often dictate whether I want to read on or not.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 5: I log on about 30% of the time.... But never post my views via social media.... I guess it's just a time issue.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 5: The website is often easier than the paper – less cumbersome, more easy to navigate and is easily accessible whilst at work. I do think that the website needs to be improved though – perhaps more resources are needed in order to have more up to date news; different stories as well as additional or different news to the story that you just read about.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is?

Respondent 5: How could the reporting be better? Some of the journalists are spot on in their reporting, however most are not unfortunately. Factual errors do occur as well as incorrect spelling of names and incorrect titles. This could easily be eliminated by sending the story to the PR agency, person or company for editing prior to publishing. Obviously it's the publications right on whether they accept the recommended changes or not.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 5: Crime within the area. Sports and school achievements. Those are my main interests... so if the paper can succinctly and accurately give me an over-view on these topics, then I'm happy.

Interviewer: Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 5: Honesty and accuracy. Say it like it is – don't be soft or insipid about it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 5: I'm happy with the paper.

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 5: Happy

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 5: Correct reporting with no errors. Also, stories should have some more 'meat' to them – tell the audience something that they don't know or that other media haven't yet tapped into.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 5: Nothing.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 5: I hate the size of newspapers.... Never understood why they are so big – makes it difficult to even turn the pages in a hurry!

Interviewer: What are your best parts of the newspaper?

Respondent 5: Sport

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 5: Adverts / classifieds. although these are topical and relevant, so I don't suggest removing them.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 5: I believe that advertising agencies haven't ever correctly tapped into the community papers and media – and that advertising should be targeted more to smaller communities with more specific messaging.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 5: I would say that it's probably the ONLY voice of the community. I don't attend my community AGM's (I don't even know when they are) – so the paper is my only way of being in touch with the community.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watch dog?

Respondent 5: Yes, very important!

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 5: Nope.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 5: Yes, roughly once a month for the last 3 years.

Interviewer: If so, can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 5: Sporting stories and athletes.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news? (For example, to help you solve your problem, raise awareness)?

Respondent 5: The paper raises awareness of my events as well as helps secure brand exposure – which is most valuable in PR.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 5: On the whole I've been very happy.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 5: When the journalist sends me the story to check prior to publishing, we can then work together in eliminating errors and publishing a story that is 100% correct.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 5: Just in terms of grammatical or factual errors.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do? (Take your story to another publication, approach someone in a higher position in the company, write a letter to the paper?)

Respondent 5: Sometimes I take it to a higher level, however by then the damage is already done and due to the errors, I am unable to present the final story to my clients such as Investec, Nissan and others.

Interviewer: Have you ever done this?

Respondent 5: Yes

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 5: Very accessible!

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 5: I have one contact who's very accessible and efficient. I've never needed another contact in this regard.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 5: Fully.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper? (For example, because it is on your doorstep, because you have a genuine interest in local news, etc)

Respondent 5: Because it's on my doorstep and its free.

Interviewer: Why do you think you have those expectations? (For example, you have seen other people's problems solved through the newspaper, etc).

Respondent 5: The paper works well for my business objectives of increasing awareness of my campaigns.

RESPONDENT 6

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 6: 14 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 6: No, I don't work. I am a house wife.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 6: Ya, very involved.

Interviewer: Are you on a residents' association?

Respondent 6: Yes, on the committees at Cedar Lakes, and very involved in the information with regards to security in the area.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 6: It's very important. I try to, I always read the police reports about what's happening, and I try to keep my ear to the ground about what you know, information to what's happening. I've got a large social network, so, all from this area. I mean, we don't cross the highway, I mean that's really a very big curse, it's like we have to pack our passports to cross over the highway.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 6: No, not really. The radio. I listened to the radio for updates on traffic. I mean the incident yesterday with the march and things, I had the radio on all day, in case it was going to affect us. They actually accumulated down the road here at the squatter camp. We could see them from Cedar Lakes, maybe 5-6 000 of them accumulated there, and if they come this way, they go past the school, so I was very anxious.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 6: I read it every week.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 6: Well, just current news, to keep up with what is directly related to what is currently happening, related to what is around us. I read the school's section and any current. I just read from start to finish to see what's going on.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 6: In pieces, because I will have it close to my chair and I will pick it up over the week, and it stays there until the next one comes, and then we use it for the parrot cage, and then we use the next one. So I would say, probably, maybe about two-to-three hours.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 6: No, I just go from cover to cover.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 6: No, I just go from cover to cover. I don't really, I mean it says turn to page three, but I will get there, I don't really. I just go from start to finish.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 6: I never read the obituaries. Other than that I read most of it. I don't read the sport. Ever. I will read only if it involves a school, but the sporty things, if there's anything like that, or cars, I never read that.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 6: No, not really, I think it covers pretty much everything.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 6: I never do that.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 6: No, I never do that.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 6: Ya, I think so. I think that sometimes there are spelling mistakes but I think in general the reporting is quite reasonable.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 6: I think just updates on anything that is happening, whether it is to do with the roads, whether it's to do with what's happening in the area, with functions taking place, with road closures or anything like that, or with any information that is necessary.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 6: Ya, I think it does fulfil the expectation. I mean, I get most of the information that I need from here. Maybe not as much information on... You know I always go to the crime section. You know crime is something that I know we've got a moratorium on reporting, it's the one thing that I think is important to report on, but, having said that, I think it might make reporting on the newspaper quite scary, but I do think it is something that is of value.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 6: Not really, I think they've covered it. It is pretty professional-looking.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 6: No, I think there is enough photos. I think to keep interest, you need photos, and I think photos are good.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 6: No, I've got, not really. I kind of just read all of it. I think because I don't have many things that I read, and I, so it's a good cross-section, just to keep you familiar.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community? To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 6: I think so. I mean, there is a lot of people that complain, or report, generally. It is accessible to people. I think if people wanted more of a say, they could go to the paper and go and get something that they wanted to say, said. Whether people do or not, I am not sure. But I think it is accessible to do.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 6: I don't think, as I said with the policing forum and things like that. I think it could be more of a watchdog. It could be more of a, be aware that this has happened, and this has happened. It's usually just a small section, just a quarter of a page or so, so it could be a little bit more [in depth] of what to look out for, what's happening with the policing forum here, stuff like that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 6: No, I think because it's only once a week, it's nice to know after the fact, but if it was happening then, I don't think I would look into the newspaper to see why. It's not current enough. Cedar Lakes actually gives us a feedback on what has happened, so they are quite a good feedback for us. But I mean if I had a house, I suppose it would be quite nice to see why that was off or something.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 6: Ya, a couple of things. The death of that child that was in Cedar Lakes that drowned. That I contacted the paper about. And the school. A lot of the time if we are wanting to show anything off for the school, we will.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 6: No, I have got no feedback from the journalists' when I have sent it. You know, acknowledging receipt is probably a good thing.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 6: I think, we had a function where we collected a whole lot of blankets for the school, and I wasn't really involved in it myself, but they got *Fourways Review* and they took a whole lot of photos and they didn't end up putting the photos in the paper and I know that our school was very upset about that. I mean, you can't use every single photo, but they did send one of their reporters to come and cover the event, and then didn't put them in, and I know that they were upset. And then I went to Bounce, which falls into Waterfall Estate, and there was a picture of the kids at the school in their paper [Midrand Reporter], which was quite interesting. And then I didn't know how to get hold of the paper to show the school that it actually was in the paper, it just wasn't in our paper. Which was weird. So I don't know how it got into the wrong paper. So the article was in our paper, but the picture wasn't, and they were disappointed that there was no picture, in there.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 6: I think they are generally quite busy, so they will say, okay, well send it to us, but they don't want, or a lot of the time they won't send a reporter. I think a small school like this probably doesn't warrant it, whereas big schools probably would.

Interviewer: If you want more attendance from the reporters?

Respondent 6: Well, I think because then you are guaranteed a better photo and you feel as though they are participating with you.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper?

Respondent 6: No, not really.

Interviewer: In the case that you were dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what did you do?

Respondent 6: Oh, we just left it. What can we do? It is the newspaper's choice.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 6: Well, the last time I was in touch with that lady, the Indian lady, she wasn't really accessible. I mean, I would leave messages for like three-or-four days. And eventually I said, I have tried to phone you for a week now, and you haven't come back to me, and then she, and then I sent the information and she never acknowledged it.

Interviewer: Was it ever in the paper?

Respondent 6: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 6: Ya. I think because it is local, and it's kind of, you know you don't really want to read about something that happens in the south of Joburg, you know you want it to be current in where you are. So to me, it was odd that they put the picture of the school in that paper [Midrand Reporter], because,

that was Midrand, why would they worry about that. I do think that when they report they should give a little more detail, for example, of the school that they are at, where it is for example. You know, like HeronBridge, and say that it is north of Joburg, I think that a lot of people, it's nice to know where the place is. You know, if there is a horse riding feature, or a Lipizzaner feature, that you actually put the address of the place at the bottom, you know that you say, oh I wouldn't mind contacting that place. I mean, not even a phone number, just an address to say where it is, so that if you decide you want to follow up on it, you know where it is, which is quite a nice value add.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 6: Ya I do. I feel that it is accessible to me, it is accessible to people around. If anybody has something that they want to report, it is accessible for them to put it in here. It becomes the information pattern of what's going on here.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 6: Ya, keeping up with what is happening on a weekly basis.

Interviewer: To what extent does the Review fulfil those expectations?

Respondent 6: Ya, I think it's because it is an overview, overall, it gives what's broken, what's created, what's been fixed, you know. Not really very many political views in it, which is maybe a good thing or a bad thing, I suppose, but I think, like, they will often have a ward councillor's name but it doesn't tell you which ward they are in or which area they are in, so often they report on this ward councillor said this and he is ward 9, but it doesn't say that that is for this, and this, and this area. Now, that would be handy as well. To have which person, which councillor, you know if you were in Fourways, which one you would look at, and I mean, that's exactly the same as having a school that you are reporting on and you put the address, for a ward councillor, you could say this is the ward councillor for here, here, here, here. So, just a little but more

information about which area, I mean they have a big, they talk about something but I mean actually you don't know what area they are in. To know that if I've got a problem, can I call that problem, can I call that person to help. I am often left thinking, well, I wonder if he is our ward councillor or not. Because often, they will say Ward 9, you know a lot of people don't know where Ward 9 is, you know, I don't know where it is. I do keep the emergency numbers which I cut out and keep them, and interesting articles, I cut out. In fact the emergency numbers that I've got are from the papers. So it is handy, and it is kind of in your face.

RESPONDENT 7

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 7: It's about 15 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 7: Yes, from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 7: Yes, we've tried to be involved with the committee, but it's not really, we've found that if we try to get involved with our neighbours, so there are about five of us and we try to talk and communicate on WhatsApp groups and we talk about what needs to get done, along with Annette Deppe, so yes, there are a few of us that do work together even though we don't serve on the committee, but a lot of the other ladies do though go to sub-committee meetings for the central, but we just find that the committee just doesn't achieve anything. Once issues are addressed, they are then addressed at the association meeting and then they go no further and it's the same, I don't attend the meeting but I get all the feedback but it doesn't come together. So, there's not the right people on those committees so we have just said we will do our own thing and

push for things in the way that we can and we even thought of starting up our own committee meetings outside of the formal meetings, which is almost like, we will involve them, just we don't really get heard and we don't really see things moving forward, especially with regards to security, in the way that we would want to.

But a lot of acts of people, a lot of people are interested, some people completely don't care, you can stand at the boom there and they will literally ride you over, so we've had that and you can see, and so it's just like that, you will have a lot of strong community people and you will have others who are here, they live here, they go to work, they don't even want a boom, they don't care about the security, they are just obnoxious horrible people and we actually don't want them in the area.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 7: Absolutely, very important.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general and how do you access most of your news?

Respondent 7: I mostly listen to the radio, because I am on the road quite a bit and to be honest I don't really go onto websites, I do for business but generally it's through the radio stations because I then I have time to listen. We have been watching some TV at night.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 7: I read it every week. I do scan through a couple of articles here and there, there are weeks that go by where I probably don't read a single article. I do look forward to seeing it because obviously, Hannah's school's mentioned in it and my son was in the Judo so he was in the *Fourways Review* and *Midrand Reporter*, so there was a big picture of them in their red stripes. That's why it's nice to have a community newspaper because you know that

they're going to support that, whereas other newspapers they're not going to, so I think it plays a really important role for children and their sport and their school.

So, frequency it depends on how busy I am in a week. There are times where I just kind of have a quick through and I've put it in the cupboard to look through and then put it with the recycling. But I generally scan through and look. I don't look at every single article, it's just what interests me.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 7: I would say I read from the front to the back.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 7: To be honest, I don't even look at those.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 7: Yes, absolutely, as I know in my own business, photographs are really important, and good photographs. Bad photographs are very off-putting to me. I scan through and if I see bad photographs, I'm not going to look all the way through to the end. Photographs are very important. Obviously you don't need them with every photograph but if there is a photo with an article I will first scan that picture. Like in terms of design, this one *points to an article with a photo in a grey box* this one really stands out and the photo is of good quality so I will scan that one. Even looking at this issue, the quality of the photographs is quite good, it's not bad. So, bigger headlines you tend to pick up words, so headlines are very important.

If I start reading an article and it's of interest, then I will keep reading it or I will jump around, but if it is really something I am very interested in, then I will read it from beginning to end.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 7: Just to stay abreast of what's happening in our immediate area. This is focused on a specific area. It's nice to know what's happening in Fourways and the surrounding area, so I will never ignore it.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 7: You know what, if I was receiving an email with a link, I would click on it and I would look at it. But, to be honest, there is nothing reminding me to go to the website. There it is there, *points to front of newspaper* but to be honest I never look at that. If they want people to go to the website more then it should be advertised and it should be appealing to the readers. If they want people to go to the website then they need a reminder. I don't get a reminder. It's something that's never advertised except in one little spot. Or, if it is advertised then maybe I've missed it, so I certainly don't think. The only time I have looked is when I saw the Judo and I wanted to see where else it had been publicised, and then I would go and have a look. But I can tell you that in all the time that the website has been there, I have maybe looked at it once. And, I am very electronic focused. If they advertised it and reminded me, I probably would go and look at it.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 7: I think for me, I'm not on Twitter and I have a Facebook page but I never use it, so I am the wrong person to ask those things to. If I wanted to

respond to an article, I would probably send an email, but if not then I might go and look at the Facebook page but my preference is always to email or phone.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 7: What I do find confusing is that towards the back, and I do always look at the back for the school stuff, but sometimes the adverts finish there and start there, so it's quite clean. The adverts here and start here, so I think that often you miss some articles due to the ads. I mean, I know that a newspaper as to be laid out and it depends how many adverts you've got and editorial you've got so I realise that you can't always start it there and stop it there. But it would be better if you can't.

Advertising I skip over most of the time and motoring. The separate stuff I would usually pull out, but I do find that in the middle it's in a muddle there. The pull-out supplements are easy to take out and look at separately. I find that in the middle the paper tends to lose its flow and is in a muddle there.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 7: I do think that now and then it would be nice if in one place where you could see what all the contact numbers are for what. If you're reporting problem stuff in an area like water problems or the streets and I think they are some of the huge areas that the residents are confronted with, so a lot of us, we are all looking after our own pavements, you never see council come and sweep the roads, so unless there is someone sitting on them, so, so often you are sitting on them. At a meeting Annette Deppe knew who to call to do what. She knew that information and none of us knew that information. So, I think that community newspapers play a big role there to say, if you've got this kind of a problem, this is the contact, and this is the ward councillor's contact details. And, just dedicate the same place each time periodically, and I think that would certainly go a long way in helping the community. You get very

frustrated when you don't know where to go in helping the community, who to report what to.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 7: I think it's quite good. Of late, I do see an improvement overall. It's definitely, I read it more now than how I have in previous times where the quality of journalists was not great so I'm seeing an improvement there. I think the headlines are quite good, they're short and sharp. I was reading some of the articles this morning and they seem to be well structured, so overall I think quite good.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 7: I do expect the doom and the gloom, I do expect the murders and the robberies and it's almost the first thing that comes to mind but that's our media throughout the whole country has done that to us. An image of a newspaper, a person or an organisation is so vital and you have to strive to maintain it all the time.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 7: I do like to read about school issues, what's happening with the school's how things are going and I look for things relating to my daughter's school. It's also nice to see the sporting achievements of children and if it's specifically on Paulshof, obviously I will read it immediately because I want to know about it too, so I think in terms of what's provided, I think it's quite balanced between news that is happening, good and bad things that are happening and I think at one stage there was a lot of negative publicity, just the doom and gloom, which I think was too much. If I open the front page and I just see too much of that then I just don't continue. And there will be times that you

will read an article and it's really awful and then I don't leave it lying around because I think, I don't want my children reading this. So, I do think that the newspaper does have a responsibility towards younger children who can read but who are still young and yes, this is the real world but they must still have a responsibility towards what they put in the newspaper because it isn't only being read by adults and that's an important aspect and so they should word it in an appropriate way, so that if a child picks it up, because the schools will say, oh go and get a newspaper article and bring it to school and so they will go through it and then they will bring it to you and start asking questions and you think I really don't want to be even talking to you about it. Not saying that *Fourways Review* specifically makes that mistake but there are times that they could be a little more cautious and be aware of young readers. My son is 11, he doesn't like reading so it's okay but my daughter is 13 and she's very impressionable at this age and they are very aware and their eyes are open to the world and very much aware of what's going on, so some things are not a shock to her but if she's reading them, I would like to hope that it is reported responsibly.

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 7: I think quite well. I think definitely it does seem to be quite balanced.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 7: As I say, of late I haven't been reading a lot of articles because I have been busy but from what I have read, I haven't picked up anything where I have thought well they could have done better. It looks fine.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 7: I think if I look at the front page, that kind of thing where you have a nice story, I mean, that's a real feel-good picture whether it was school children or whoever and I think the front cover should do that. I don't think it's the job of the newspaper to talk about what Oscar Pistorius is doing. If they want to take a different angle on it then I think fine, but I don't think it should be the news. I don't see them doing that. And, where they have had on the front cover, there's really been a huge issue in terms of a huge hole in the road, or things that haven't been fixed for long, and I can understand that that makes the front cover and then you think oh no, what's going on, what's happened, I understand that that has to happen from time to time. They do also run organisation stuff, you get stuff about animals, you do see that a lot of that you know, what they're doing. Obviously you don't want to keep reading about animal abuse but if there has to be something then fine, but obviously not too much of it because every week you don't want to be reading about another animal that got hurt, but it is the job of the newspapers to alert the public to those issues and I think they do do that job quite well. So I do think the balance of photographs to editorial, I think it's good. Looking at this one [issue] I think it's good. I think pictures make such a difference, so I think they've got the balance really very good.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 7: Ya, I think this whole look could be much more modern and interesting. *points to the mast head of the front page* Okay, that's a terrible advert *points to an ear advert by the mast head*. I know some publications don't just accept any advert, whereas *Fourways Review* accepts any advert. So I always think it's very bitty and I think from that perspective, I mean certainly you're not going to get away from all of these kind of ads, the adverts do play a huge role in your publication and you will always have good ads and bad ads and I almost feel like I would love to go back to them and say I will re-design your ad for you if you want to place it there. It doesn't improve the look. It could be more vibrant in terms of this mast head here, or don't allow that advertising

here, you know, rather only allow something else but I think it just totally spoils this space.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 7: I think it's done its job quite well. At the end of the day I think you want to know are people reading and believing what they're reading, are they really going to say, oh no that's nonsense, and I think that is what is so important about the quality of the journalism, that they are getting their facts straight, is it credible and are we going to believe what we are reading. So, I haven't lately had reason not to believe. I always draw my own conclusion at the end and I think everyone does. I always tell my children, don't believe everything you read. There will always be the element that maybe somebody did get a fact wrong but you would hope that whoever the article is about would then go back and say that's not correct and an apology should be put in. So I think they do, I haven't had reason to doubt anything. I haven't had reason to write and question, whereas in the past I was really questioning a lot of articles because a lot of them were really not well written, and then we lose the credibility completely, and then we say, well what is wrong in the other articles. But I am seeing a different newspaper now, it's really a lot better.

I did lose interest in it for a while. I just used to pick them up and put them in the recycling and I didn't really read them at all, and you've got to earn that back again.

Interviewer: And how do you think you got back to reading them?

Respondent 7: Just from seeing a change, just to see photos and the headlines, and say oh, something has improved here. And I started to look at it again.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community? To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems or to what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 7: No, I don't think it does that [acts as a watchdog]. I think it's up to the community to go to the newspaper and to alert them to issues that are being raised and if it's serious enough, obviously get their facts straight, and put a balanced article together. I think it does play a very important role in communities and residents' associations having a medium in which they can express their views and try to obtain results, and to put it out there to the public. This is printed, it comes to your door. I think it's a very good medium to do just that, so I think it is important that they really do continue to support people who bring issues up to them.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think *Fourways Review* serves that role?

Respondent 7: I think so, and I think it's important to do follow-ups on those articles. It shouldn't just be one article and it dies. I think the newspaper can take it further and come back at a later stage and say, well, this was raised, the *Fourways Review* publicised it and it seems to have got the attention of the authorities and here's some results. Put in the results.

Interviewer: Do you think the paper does that enough?

Respondent 7: I'm not sure it does that. I think it's important that it does follow-ups. I'm not reading it every single week religiously so I could be missing it but I don't see that happening, I'm not getting that sense that that's happening.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on a story?

Respondent 7: Well, only where we were trying to publicise events and with the road closure. Maybe I'm a little removed that I am not seeing a *Fourways Review* person active in our area but that would be a huge plus, if they are, and I'm not seeing them great, but I don't hear anyone talking about it. I don't feel

that there's a particular journalist who takes a strong feel in Paulshof, not that I am aware of.

Interviewer: In the case that you were dissatisfied with the journalists and how the newspaper's team handled a story, what did you do?

Respondent 7: It was a long time ago so I don't remember what the article was about but it had spelling errors and grammatical errors, when it's something as bad as that so I felt the need to phone them, but I didn't get a very positive response, that I remember. I didn't get a response like yes, we agree, that's not the way we would like to do it but the journalist who wrote it was the one I spoke to and she was very unfriendly and didn't see my point of view when I wrote it so it wasn't anything good that came out of it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 7: I haven't tried recently but the contact details don't stand out. Normally in a publication it would be here *points to page 2* but it's sort of hidden away there, it's not in the right spot. I think if I was looking for it, I would find it. It's not the right place where I would look for things like that usually.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 7: I would expect yes. In the past I have dealt with Business Day. I have had some positive responses, because obviously if you have a business thing, they are more interested. If you're just a community member phoning in about something, I would expect that they're not going to be very accessible unless you've got something controversial.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 7: I just see it as the community newspaper doing its job in the area and right now it's, I like to, if my son's photo was in it then I would just say,

okay this is our son's picture in the newspaper in our area. This is what they're doing and so in that sense I would feel like this is our paper. So, I have a positive view of it at the moment. It's got to maintain that for people to continue to maintain that.

RESPONDENT 8

Respondent 8: In these publications, is it 65 percent advertising? I understand that because they push the revenue stream, and that's where the inserts come in.

I find *Fourways Review* is very national in terms of advertising instead of local. Why are local companies not advertising? So, that's the challenge. So, we know that there's a revenue stream where the market is concerned. *Fourways Review* needs a census.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Lonehill?

Respondent 8: For 31 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 8: I work from home.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 8: I work from home. I am very office-based.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 8: Very, but not very popular because you are stepping on toes. I do a whole lot of things, like the cycle tracks. It is thinking outside the box. We've got over 8 000 people registered for the Park Run. 150 percent.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 8: Absolutely. Transparency is the keyword and that's what's lacking. There's not enough transparency.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 8: Even international news.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 8: Community newspapers have always had to be free, so if you asked people to buy this, it would probably be in the same state of the national papers, losing readership every day, so everybody is going the free route.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 8: Maybe for some good local news. It always seems it's that somebody has been robbed or murdered or attacked, very negative. In newspapers, we used to say, dog bites man, no news, man bites dog, big news. And that's the problem there.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 8: Once a week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 8: About half an hour. I would go through it and read from cover to cover.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 8: I read from the front to the back.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 8: I would do that if I wanted to know more about the contact that the article's about. Not on every one of them, but I do pick up information on them that way. If there is an article about the eco-club, that is the way I have found them from *Fourways Review*. I found the woman's details from *Fourways Review*, emailed her and then we meet. So I use it for contacts.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 8: Here's this one, Rider takes charge *points to copy of *Fourways Review** how does that relate to us, I know that the paper is broader than Lonehill and Beverley but I know that they were looking for a lead and this was the best they had on the day.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 8: No, sorry I don't.

Interviewer: Are there any sections of the newspaper which you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 8: The property, I'm not in the property market so I'm not buying or selling so I just move it over. There's got to be a certain amount of readership interest. They've got to generate that.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 8: I think it depends on the editor and the subs, what they cut out.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 8: Local news. It's got to be fairly community-based stuff and the reporters have to dig. The emotion behind the story of the dogs off leashes, is huge. And I'm not saying to take sides, don't take sides, but you stimulate the debate.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 8: People see it as a medium, and people know to get hold of it, but I don't see it as the voice of the community.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 8: Advertising actually detracts. That property section, don't hide articles in there and expect that people are going to read it. But you might even miss those articles if you don't want to read property. It's looking dated in terms of the design. We used to re-design The Star regularly. We used to have international competitions, and they'd come up with a new design to make it look fresh. From that perspective, it needs to be looked at. People get so used to it.

Interviewer: How would you like to see the newspaper improved?

Respondent 8: There is a fight between advertising and sales. They [advertisers] want to get in so they drop the type face. In the past it was all standardised but now you can just hit a button and make it fit, and that's also lazy reporting and lazy advertising. So, less is more.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 8: Yes. Good reporting.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at events in the Fourways community?

Respondent 8: Not enough, unless you invite them. But it is sometimes that they have too much to cover, they're sitting in court all day, they've got a sporting event that they've got to be there so the important thing is for journalists to allocate their resources at the right time. Timing is important, to tell the journalists, listen we have this event, put it in your diary, we want you here because it's a big event. So, I know how they need to allocate resources, but we can also, and then it's not so much about lazy journalism, they [the journalists] actually appreciate it because then they can say, well, at least I have covered Lonehill and I've also had to cover the court case too.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 8: I think people do see it sort of like a 702, people phone in because they've got a complaint, so it's the same with *Fourways Review*, and often they will take their own photos because the journalists don't always have the time to. It must remain neutral though.

There is a lot of national news, maybe there is not enough local news but that is where they've got to dig and they need to ask questions. And that's where they need to do market research.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 8: I think they are well accessible. It's very good.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as ‘yours’?

Respondent 8: My wife hated it when they changed it [*Fourways Review*] from *Sandton Chronicle*. She doesn’t live in Fourways! So, suddenly the mind-set changed. But she will read it, women do. She and her friend will WhatsApp each other, did you see this, did you see that? You know so there may be a different view from women readers but from a thought leader, from my perspective a lot more could be done. There is no identifying force that you could pick up like a 702-type thing, so, when there is something, they should go for it and create that debate.

RESPONDENT 9

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review*’s distribution area you live in?

Respondent 9: Fourways.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Fourways?

Respondent 9: I’ve been here now, end of the month is exactly three years, from Durban initially.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 9: Well, I work from home so ya, it would be Fourways, ya.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 9: Yes well I am very involved with Hirsch’s there, as well as Strubben’s Valley and places, and then with Door of Hope being Glenvista side and that.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 9: Ya, it is important, ya.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 9: To be honest with you I don't buy the newspaper at all, even News24 I don't go onto because sometimes I find that it's very negative and it just pulls you down. Like, with the *Fourways Review*, I like because you stick to your area, it's basically if there is any crime then you want to know about it.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 9: Well I think for like a whole variety. There's always something nice to read about, somebody who's done well, like a little girl who has gone overseas and won a medal, light-hearted. And then it's also nice to read about like what people are doing for different communities and helping with fundraising, that's cool. The news is like, well, if there is something like crime it's also nice to be alert in terms of what's happening. Ya, in general it's just nice, but also in terms of Ark Animal Centre there is always the animals which I always think is nice.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 9: Every single week. In fact, when I drove in and I was running late I was like okay, the pile is there I mustn't forget to take one. Every week. Love it.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website?

Respondent 9: To be honest with you, mainly hard copy. I do have it online like on my Facebook page so if I am online and I come by it I will click and have a look at it but I actually like the hard copy to be honest, old fashioned.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 9: I would say, a good hour and a bit, and you choose what you're interested in, you know.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 9: Well, I start from the beginning and just page through and then I will see something with a headline and I will think okay, let me read this.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read?

Respondent 9: Community, ya definitely, and also the crime just to check what's happening, even though it is very negative and that, and then just in general there are some light-hearted stories.

Interviewer: Are there some sections which you never read?

Respondent 9: The sport I don't really to be honest, I am not really into the sport too much. Really, the sport I will skim through it.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 9: You know what I was thinking the other day, it would be nice, you know, being the Fourways area, for somebody, like one of the journalists to go somewhere for lunch or dinner, try three different restaurants, and sort of like rate it, like, for instance the new Pappachino's here, give a rating, say it's so nice for kids, the food is good, it ranges from this price or whatever. That would be quite nice. I would like that personally.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 9: Ya, usually it is. I can actually remember quite a few, ya.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 9: Ya, quite often. You just skim through to see which one is quite nice.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 9: I haven't actually, to be honest.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 9: I don't really.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 9: Always, very accurate. I've never, no.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 9: Obviously what is happening in the community in terms of crime, unfortunately it's negative but yes, and what's happening in terms of events wise, ya community things where we can get involved, you know community things and then I suppose just general [what's happening].

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 9: No, I think it's brilliant. I have always said to the journalists, I love it. Ya, definitely. There is always something that I take from reading once a week, there is always something. Ya, definitely.

Interviewer: Do you get enough of the community events and crime stories that you want to see in the paper?

Respondent 9: I think maybe more events you guys could add a bit more, what's happening in the area, you know because that is nice, and also like what's happening when the kids are on school holidays, maybe if you contacted the different churches that have a little morning session for kids, ya, because I think that's quite nice for Moms, what's happening in the school holidays.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 9: No.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 9: No, I think it's perfect.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 9: They've also got a lot of advertising in there like with, which is nice. There could be something in there that you would want to buy, it's awesome, no I wouldn't change anything.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 9: I think it's quite a big, they sort of cover sort of everything. I think its, I mean I remember living in Durban North and reading North Glen News, but I wasn't into it like I was into it as I am into the *Fourways Review*. Like I would look at it like I do with the Fourways Review. And, because there

are interesting articles, like even that lady that Nubia Advertising, like I found her there and I contacted her. Ya, I mean, I think it's really, the way it's laid out and the news, it's interesting, it's really cool.

Interviewer: When you have contacted Fourways Review journalists or to work on the story, what role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 9: Like obviously for the Hirsch's one it was a competition for people to enter, and then maybe going back to the dog story, I think I was so excited about my story and I thought other animal lovers would love it and that's probably why, it was probably just to share what had happened to me, and maybe somebody else would have looked at it and thought I am crazy, but, I mean, it's going to touch somebody, I mean like look at Isaac [a prisoner who contacted her after the story was published], I mean, who would have thought, so ya, from that point, really just to share and obviously the Hirsch's one was just for people to enter.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 9: You know it's been pretty good. I do follow up quite a bit and I do phone lots of times like one of the journalists will tell you and another journalist will also agree on that, um, but ya, sometimes it would be a bit difficult to find out if it would be in this week, and I would be like, "Okay, is it in this week? Is it next week?" So, it wasn't like a straight, you know, and I understand they have to plan out the paper into what is more importance. I'm not complaining, but I'm just saying like to say, "Well, it's Wednesday now so I will give you an answer by next week Friday if it is or if it's not." But I'm not complaining.

Interviewer: Were you satisfied with the articles that were published?

Respondent 9: Definitely, definitely.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 9: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 9: Very accessible, ya, I've even got one of the journalists on WhatsApp.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 9: Definitely, I mean, I haven't actually tried but it's more, it's your area, you know, I mean a community story is nice, I mean even when there was the story on the little girl Layla, remember that whole, I mean, that was so nice to read, you know to see the support and how she was progressing and all that. So that was really nice.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 9: Ya, and sometimes, I will open the boom before I get and then I think oh, my word, my Fourways Review and then I wave to the security and say, sorry, please can you get me one? Because I'm scared that tomorrow I go back and they're all gone.

RESPONDENT 10

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 10: Since 2001 December, in this house.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 10: I work from home on a small scale for private people's functions and events.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 10: I was a trustee, but I feel that I have had enough and they have probably had enough of me. I find that they and the Paulshof Hill community are very community orientated and are very, very proactive.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 10: Oh very, I think it's very important neighbourhood-wise, security-wise, people who you support, people who support you, and I did the fun walk a month ago with my daughter who lives down the road with her dogs. And that sort of thing creates the camaraderie. It's not the competition, it's actually the camaraderie. And you get to know the streets that you don't walk up and down or drive up and down and you get to know the security people.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 10: I'm a newspaper person. I like holding newspapers and books. Living in a complex you get very different cross-sections of people. People who think they're very important, people who don't give a continental. It seems to be that people go to work, come back from work and rush behind closed doors, and I find that very sad. It's only when something untoward happens that everybody wakes up. It's not nearly so neighbourly. Everybody is so very shaken up when something happens near them and then they slide back to doing nothing.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 10: Every week.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 10: I find it very informative with the crime reports. Things that are going in like new roads, new shopping centres. The traffic 'hecticness', the roads that are going to be closed. Whether one likes it or not, it's important to read the crime stats and the numbers.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 10: It's doesn't take terribly long once you've got rid of the adverts, and once you've got rid of the Auto section. The property section you just glance through. The Options I enjoy and the general, I'm not involved in schools anymore. About half-an-hour a week. But I sometimes I do refer to some of the adverts at some of the shops.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper?

Respondent 10: It usually goes front page, back page and then I start on the second page and rumble through. I don't know why. I've always been very involved and interested in sport. That does always catch my eye.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 10: Yes I do. I read the front, read the back and then I say oh gosh and read it and then turn to that page.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 10: I'm so non-digital or social media or anything like that. I don't do Facebook or Twitter. I like to read newspapers.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 10: I think the local involvement in the area. I mean we all moan and groan about the police involvement and the smash and grabbing, but I mean, you need to be involved in that. You don't like to read about that but it is important that you do.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 10: I think it's important, it's something that you focus on, it's an eye-catcher and I would rather have that.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 10: I think it's basic. It's not sort of intelligence, high-end reporting, but that's not what a local paper, for me, is about. I mean, I read *Noseweek*. If I want to read something interesting, I will read *The Independent* or I buy *Noseweek*. You read a local paper to find out about local happenings, local events. I mean things that would interest me is the Christmas carols at Animals in Distress so you would put that date in your diary, that sort of thing. Look out for local gardens, the local. Even when there are articles from the City of Joburg. Very important.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 10: It keeps me in the loop, which is, because I don't, by my own choice, I don't do social media, this does it and I look forward to reading it. Often I will say, oh I had forgotten about that, I must remember that. So it does

remind me. I read it, sometimes I skip through it and sometimes I say oh my gosh have you seen the *Fourways Review*. I've got an 80-year-old neighbour, and she'll say oh no I haven't got the paper yet and she will rattle down to the gate and go and get it. I think you need to [talk about the content in the paper]. Like the water situation this morning, she doesn't have email, I only have it on my phone and she I notified her to let her know about the water cut, so I keep her and the gardeners in the loop on that sort of thing.

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 10: I think it is. I find that this is informative, but I find it small. It keeps you in the loop with all the specials and you can then pass it onto the gardeners to help them look out for specials. Generally I think it makes an enormous effort to keep everybody in the loop. You are never going to please everybody, because some people like to be difficult anyway, and they think that because they are not interested in something why should you tell them? I mean, I am not a cyclist, but cycling is a hugely growing sport, but we need to be aware of cycling and so I think it is a good effort to inform people. I personally don't know the people who are reporting here like I did in the past. Maybe if there's an event at like the Halloween, then maybe the younger journalists go and introduce themselves to the community so that I know who you are and you know who I am and the role that I might play in the community.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 10: I think the format is very good.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 10: No, not really. It's serving a cross-section of the community, so what I like and what other people like is not always necessarily going to be in

the paper, so I don't rely on it for all my news but local news I think it is important. You know, if there is a horrible incident and we get informed of it on our cell phones, you want to follow-up on that and see what happened, have they caught anybody and what actually happened as opposed to the gossip triangle.

Interviewer: Do you think *Fourways Review* fulfils that role?

Respondent 10: Yes, I think they report on those horrible incidents fairly quick, I mean, if it happens at the weekend, it's probably in the paper by when it's delivered on Wednesday, so I think that does fulfil an important part of our society in informing people.

Interviewer: If it wasn't for the *Fourways Review*, how would you find out what was happening?

Respondent 10: I don't buy the daily papers, I would probably be in blissful ignorance, apart from the notice boards around. I wouldn't be nearly as informed or up-to-date with things happening in the area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 10: I think it very much is. Obviously it can't be too politically involved and in the letters that are written people obviously have their own opinions and not everybody agrees but that's okay. I think definitely it's a long with our police force. It's very easy to, not ignore the police force, but be very negative about them because there is so much bad press and I feel that they are working very hard and I feel that one should support them and I think that they do make a very big effort in the area, and it is a huge area with huge quantities of people and cars. I think I feel *Fourways Review* strives and a lot of the time very successfully, to marry the community public with the service industries and I think that should be a big focus point with striving to continue, I

can't say improve, but I think that the police should be encouraged to come into the area. Just a here we are, have you got our numbers?

Interviewer: Do you think the paper should play a role in that?

Respondent 10: I think it does because usually speaking, it gives numbers for the police, fire, I think bearing in mind that this is a huge area with a lot of transient people, so it's all very well for the editor to turn around and say, well, we're not doing it this week because we've done it for the past six weeks, but, it is always somebody new or somebody staying in the area and they pick up the paper and if the number's not there, it's sod's law that it's the one time that somebody really needs it, and it needs to continue to be informative.

Interviewer: When you contacted the paper, what was the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 10: For my specific area, I knew the journalist from meetings at the reserve and had the right buttons to push so the network works, and I think the network is enormously important. So they took photographs that this side of the reserve was a complete fire hazard. I think if it was me phoning up parks or me phoning up the reserve or the fire department they would just easily dismiss it but if a reporter phones up or sends an email and says, this is the story, and it's not go and from there we can go to Mrs Deppe. So they've got the contacts, they've got the influence and sometimes, not all the time, but that's the edge that as a resident, you need to get further action.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 10: I'm not saying that it will always get resolved. I am saying that y putting it out there, someone might say, gosh, you know I have the same problem and so maybe I need to get in touch with me or that reporter to actually get that conjugate to get it into action.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 10: It also galvanises people into being more aware of a fire in Kya Sands and so there is a collection point, and I think that is terribly important. You will always get the doers and you'll always get the moaners. It's usually the moaners who don't do anything.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations? Was there any resolution to the problem?

Respondent 10: In true municipality style it took a while but a community leader did get it resolved with Women Working For Water. The biggest problem with the reserve is that it takes a year to do it, they cut the lantana down but they don't take it away and that's an ongoing problem, because then it just re-seeds and is worse than before. We just want people to be more aware and to help.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think it would be resolved if the paper was to sit on the situation more?

Respondent 10: I would hope it would be because it would be one of those situations which wouldn't go away. I do think that if it was given the exposure and the sort of, "Right, what has happened to this, where are we going?"

I think the paper would have more influence than the residents of this complex because of the exposure and the naming-and-shaming. Sadly, that seems to be the way to go these days. Everybody pushes it under the carpet. I do think that [the exposure] that would have an enormous impact and motivate whoever [to help]. I think simply by naming and shaming and putting it out there, like I think in the past a journalist has said, well I am going to contact the fire department, and that sort of galvanises it and then suddenly came out and inspected. I think by galvanising the situation and resolving it, and sort of saying, well, how are we

going to resolve this. It's frustrating but the paper would have a lot more influence than a body corporate.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 10: I think it contributes greatly. You can meet someone on the street, you can send an email and it's in and it's out. You can, I can absorb it if it's in the paper. I know a lot of people don't read it, but I find it especially having been on the trustees, a lot of people read emails and then it goes out of their brains but, I know I am old-fashioned and I like hard-copies, because you can sit back and think it through, but unless you go to a community meeting regarding a certain problem, half the time it is just in and out.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 10: I think it plays a watchdog, I think it's informative and I think it follows up on a lot of problems but not only problems on whether it's coming up at a shopping centre, whether it's a review of a show and you think I would like to go to that and go and book some tickets. I think society today is so fast and instant and it's very easy to forget because it is just too much to absorb.

Interviewer: Do you think the paper follows up enough?

Respondent 10: I think it can do it. Obviously it is not going to go over it for years and years and years but, for instance that horrendous incident on New Year 's Eve, around the corner where that person was murdered. They've followed up on that. They've kept the community up-to-date on what is happening. Obviously those things don't happen overnight but it is nice to see that he has been brought to book or to court and what is happening. I do feel it [the paper] fills an integral role, I mean, I probably read *Fourways Review* more than I read a Sunday paper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 10: To be honest, I don't really access them. Before a journalist was very accessible and at meetings, but I think if you had to access them, they would be accessible. I think certainly there is always room to maintain and always to vow to improve the involvement in the community. For example, you are visible in newspaper and I think it is very important if one has the time, to be visible at certain events so I could go to an event and see a journalist and be able to say, this is my problem, we need to reenergise that. I think that's what's lacking in today's society, even if you phone up a company, if I phoned up Caxton, I wouldn't be able to speak to a person. I think it would be very beneficial for the community newspaper and for the community itself to just do the communication.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 10: I pick it up every Wednesday. I read it regularly, I miss it during Christmas and New Year, but quite right you have time off, and I just think it's something that I would hate to see be lost to the community, like it's no longer viable. I understand a lot of things are accessible via the internet but for a community newspaper, I think it's important who the doers are in the area and it's important. I think it's very important that whether one lives in a one-bedroom townhouse or a house, they are all part of the community and I think the community newspaper has an important job to envelop it all. You can't make people read a newspaper but the fact that it's there make people want to read it.

RESPONDENT 11

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review*'s distribution area you live in?

Respondent 11: I live in Beverley.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 11: I've lived there for about 10 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 11: Yes, well I have a home office. I work from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 11: Ah, very.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 11: From both a personal and a functional point of view I think it is vital to know what is happening in your neighbourhood so that you can make decisions and be on the cutting edge with what is happening.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 11: Usually on my iPad or cell phone and about 20 times a day.

Interviewer: Do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 11: Yes, both the online and newspaper versions.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 11: I would say at least once a day online and I read the paper once. I usually get the paper on a Thursday and so I will read it on a Thursday.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 11: About 30 to 40 minutes.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 11: I am very familiar with the newspaper. I usually focus on pages one to five and then I glance at the balance. I'm interested in finding out about the crime and grime and the local news. I take the advertising supplements out of the middle of the newspaper and use them in my home to clean up spills and so on.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 11: I use *Fourways Review* to keep up to date with current affairs and to find out how the community is feeling and to share that commonality and commitment to the area.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 11: I don't really read the advertisements and I just flip through the sport and the fun, entertainment sections.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 11: No, not really, oh occasionally I will look at them and use them but I usually just page from front to back.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 11: No, I haven't used it. Look, as the CPF chair I have to be mindful of what I say in public. When views are my own and not that of the CPF,

it becomes problematic, but I certainly think it is a good tool to feel the pulse of the area.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 11: I'm quite involved with many of the stories and I have found them to be balanced and fair. I have never fought against the independence of the newspaper, even though I have not always agreed with their decisions, but I have always stood by it.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 11: I think the newspaper is a source of local news and it can assist with leadership in the community.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 11: I think it does fulfil my expectations. I think to a discerning reader there is about a 50 to 60 percent range of content but I think it could include more in certain areas.

Number one, I think it could have higher coverage on the environment, number two I think it could have higher coverage on legal changes and how they affect the community and number three, I think the whole area of animals, such as pets for adoption and animal organisations could have a lot more coverage.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 11: I think it is the right size and design, in that regard, I would give it about 85 percent.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 11: On the one or two occasions that when you go to pick it up and all the adverts drop out, that's my worst. There must be some way to consolidate all of the adverts.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 11: I believe it is a voice, a conscience and a place for the community to express, encourage and share achievements, like when kids have done well. It is an information centre.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 11: It is one of the voices for greater 40 000 doorsteps or 200 000 people.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 11: It is a watchdog, for example when I brought a story to it of two fellows, they did consider publishing it and by them asking the questions, it did prevent the two fellows from going public. I would say it is one of its roles, it doesn't have a single role.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 11: I think the community looks to the newspaper to help them with some municipal or police problems, but I think it is mainly to get publicity. For public issues, the paper is looked to for exposure.

I have a suggestion that once a month, there should be an advert for counselling services, for debt or depression or marital problems. You know, a lot of people in the community are taking strain in these areas and the paper should offer services which can help them. The paper can be that channel.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 11: Yes, many times.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 11: To collect the facts objectively and report. Also to show photographs, you know, a picture can tell a thousand words.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 11: Ya, by-and-large the journalists have grasped those skills and the standard of journalism is good. By-and-large they've given the CPF fair and balanced editorial exposure.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 11: I have on one or two occasions brought something to the attention of the editors and it has been fixed straight away. There have been some oversights but the editorial is good.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 11: Ya, they normally come and find me.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 11: I think that the community newspaper is more personal to the area and often the news is not huge national issues, they are too local.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as ‘yours’?

Respondent 11: No, not at all. I feel that I play a role in helping to get the information out there, so I think I play a role but I wouldn’t say I own it, no.

RESPONDENT 12

Respondent 12: I think just generally as your common reader, I think the layouts are really great. I like that it just really is subtle and draws you to your key areas, so that’s really cool. I was horrified that you’ve got a 32-page but when you get it in your mail box, it is the size of a Bible because of all of the advertising and I think it’s hard because I think it puts people off because it is no longer the bread-and-butter but an advertising device, and I am one to talk, because we want a piece of our community there but there’s got to be, I don’t know a compromise. In one sense it puts us off, but in the other it allows the paper to make money. There’s also so much bad stuff happening, and it was something I was speaking to a friend of mine today, and there used to be someone who would take something bad and put a witty or positive or community to try to make readers actually feel positive about it. But that’s something that you can’t force. I think focussing on the youth is good and make it like a dedicated corner and even if it is one dedicated editor or person, make it like, kitty-cat rescued on freeway, or just something, a random act of kindness so the readers just want to turn to that page, even the back page to end on something.

The other thing is, we can’t afford the advertising, I mean, one journalist, the pre-run the article missed the core that it was actually showcasing Norscot, and in a way it was my fault because she didn’t know Norscot so she put in the, she used the information that I gave her and then I had people coming back to me and saying we didn’t even put in about the demos which was the key purpose. I’m saying if we’re not paying we can’t choose. I would love to just give my advert and that would be published, but we’re not paying. That said, the journalist, in that very short space that she was there, somehow captured it and we’ve never had a double page spread before. I know the space is precious.

I think there should be fees for community projects so that it can actually create a valid and just interest, you know the picture and the cartoon. I would actually would like to afford the advertising because I would like to have an impact on the paper.

So, I would like to see it introduce a happy space, introduce fees for community projects.

What's also nice is that I am starting to understand the *Fourways Review* Facebook page and I love the online, I am really starting to catch the drift and I think the online edition is a brilliant idea.

Interviewer: So, you are quite involved in Norscot, how involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 12: Not so much.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 12: It's very important. I think they should introduce a community page, a little calendar, for all ages for what's happening, like a community calendar. That would be awesome.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 12: No. I think the *Fourways Review* is a balance between the school stuff, the community stuff, the good, the bad and the ugly.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 12: It would be to see what's going on in the community, to see what's going on in Norscot.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 12: I will browse through it when I read it.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 12: I just chuck the advertising to one side. Probably the content grabbers, I would glance at that to see if there's something that grabs me.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 12: Classified and property I won't read. Sports doesn't interest me much.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 12: A community calendar and a happy space. NPO advertising because I think it is right that we would pay if we are going to say what should be published, to create a presence then we should pay.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 12: Ya, it does, ya. I find that the catch phrases is very interesting.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 12: I don't because I don't like social media.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 12: From my side, for Norscot Manor it's all fine. I don't think I've ever read anything that has been extraordinarily like oh my goodness. I think they try not to be over-sensationalistic and try to find that balance between of interest and too over-sensationalistic because that can always come back and bite you.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 12: I want to know something that I didn't know before and I want to have something in it that I actually want to read. Not about the bribery, corruption and treachery, and I think that's where my wanting a, I mean it's always sport on the back page, why is it always sport on the back page, why isn't there a happy story on the back page.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 12: All the way. Because of my Norscot was great. The support and the relationship has been great, albeit that it hasn't been how I would like it with a one-on-one relationship. Like when a former journalist handed over, it would be nice to have a hand over. We are also fortunate to have the support of the group editor, but she has been busy.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 12: I think, it can sometimes be a bit bitty, but you have to put things as they fit. It's nice. It works.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 12: Yes, adverts.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 12: It does well. I like it a lot. This front page is. There's always interesting school stuff, Witkoppen Road stuff, the Douglasdale Police Station which really affects them a lot and seems to be in the news quite a lot, Norscot. Ya, I think it does well.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 12: I think it's a bit of everything. I think all the stuff with Councillor Chris. You know when there's a crisis it gets mentioned and when it is a need-to-know it gets mentioned, so ya, it wears quite a few hats actually.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 12: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 12: There's a little bit of a grey area, because we are an NPO and because we are not paying, with the former journalist it was always, don't worry you will be in, send me the stuff I need it by Friday, and then with one journalist and she said I can't be sure, but with the first journalist, she did three or four events with her, it was never a question. So, the lines are a bit blurred of is it a definite, is it not, understandably because then when the journalist said it's gone into print and I said, oh well, I thought that we had discussed that I would flick my eye over your work and she said no, I can't do that. So, I think those parameters need to be communicated clearly because I also need to communicate to my eyes to say, hey, if we're not in, we're not in. I think for a

community newspaper we should get a near-guarantee that we will be in. And, if we are prepared to pay for something that's going to add colour, it may also leave more space for advertising.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 12: I think sometimes they are getting the story, but they are not getting the photos but that's not all together their fault, sometimes it's quite hard to capture the energy of the events.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 12: No. The blue plague, there was a bit with that, like how could they do that, but the journalist, bless her heart, she phoned and she said we put a "g" instead of a "q" so I actually really didn't mind it because I said oh so we get two publicity for it. That's what I really appreciate it. I mean we all make mistakes. No, it was fine.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 12: Very. I had thought that one journalist was going to attend and then I phoned her on the Friday and she said no, it's her weekend off so she said another journalist would attend but I hadn't even really spoken to that journalist. It's the nature of the beast, there will be mess-ups. That was a bit complicated. It was a bit unnerving but it all worked out so it was fine and now moving forward, I am staying with that journalist.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 12: Local is a lot more interested in Norscot Manor than national. We tried though.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as ‘yours’?

Respondent 12: Ya, Fourways overlaps Norscot. I would also like to see the events at Norscot also overlap into *Sandton Chronicle*.

RESPONDENT 13

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Paulshof?

Respondent 13: I’ve lived in Paulshof since 1st September 1990.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 13: Work from home but ward is based in a different area.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 13: In my immediate neighbourhood, well in 2000 to 2006 when Paulshof fell in my ward I was very much involved. Since 2006 when Paulshof was put into another ward it has been less but yes, I still take an interest, I go to annual general meetings, I have some interest in our little security closure for Komari Avenue, so I am involved but in a very minor way.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 13: Well, the *Fourways Review* covers most of my ward and it is very important, I do pick up a lot of information.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 13: Oh, every day. I subscribe to Business Day, I subscribe to *The Times* and the *Sunday Times*. Every day I read the *Daily Maverick* and *Politics Web* so I am pretty much up-to-date with what is going on locally, nationally and

to an extent internationally. To an extent I have a news service on my cell phone which I read every day.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 13: Well, it comes up once a week so it comes out once a week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 13: About 15 minutes.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 13: Well obviously the front page story and then I pick up what catches my eye in the rest of the paper.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 13: Well, unlike the other national newspapers and the other electronic news media, *Fourways Review* has a good mixture of sunshine news and bad news.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 13: I like the editor's column. I like the letter page. I like reports on what other councillors are doing. That is also important to me. Sometimes when I'm not there and when other councillors are not there, I wonder if he or she is not doing his or her job or if I'm not doing my job, so it also serves as an alarm bell for me to keep my act up.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 13: There is very, very little news about black people. I know that the movers and shakers in our suburbs are mainly white but there have to be other movers and shakers who are not. And, there seems to be a disengagement between the black middle class who have moved into these suburbs and the rest of us. We hardly see any black faces involved in our residents' association. And then of course there are the other people who work here every day, come here and go home every day. We hear nothing about what challenges they face in getting here and going home again. So there is that social imbalance, I would say.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 13: Not always.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 13: Yes, those are very helpful as a guide.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 13: I just don't have the time.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 13: I use it very occasionally. It's mainly the hard copy, yes.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 13: Look, sometimes when I am quoted, as opposed to doing a press release, it's not quite what I said. It changes the meaning, it changes the emphasis, it changes the nuances.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 13: On one occasion, yes, and I will tell you which occasion it was. It was in relation to people being unhappy about the reduction in the speed limit on Kyalami road from 80 to 60 [km/hr]. You know, it came across as I was to blame, whereas I have no power to set or determine speed limits, it actually is the traffic authorities who do so, but you know, it's one of the hazards of being a public representative.

Interviewer: In the case that you were dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 13: I phoned the group editor and I said your reporter got it all wrong, didn't even bother to call me and the reporter did call me and it was set straight the following week.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 13: Well, its coverage is very, very wide. I can't think of any particular thing that it leaves out.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 13: Oh very much so. Look, as a watchdog yes [it does do enough], but when it comes to delving a bit deeper and playing an investigative role, certainly senior journalists fulfil the role. The junior journalists don't seem to be capacitated to do that and possibly it's because they're not aware that they need to, it's possible that they don't ask the editorial staff the right questions, and I would also like to make this remark, there seems to be a terrific

turnover of staff at a lower level. What the reason for that is, is internal, I don't need to know but as someone who interacts with the journalists it is something that I note, you know, they come, they go, they come, they go.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 13: Well, you've got to define the community. Is it the household and property owners, or is it everybody who plays a role in this community, and I talk about the people who come here to work and who go home again. They are also part of the community and as I said before, the black middle class is missing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 13: Yes, yes, but it's not in real time because it only comes out once a week. There's just as much chance of it being resolved if they [the residents] came directly to me [as a ward councillor] but it's mainly newsworthy stuff and ya, there it does fulfil a role.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 13: It needs to be more inclusive of everybody who lives or works in the community.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 13: No, I think for the type of newspaper it is, a combination of sunshine news and bad news, the pictorial content is important and the pictorial content that they give, I would say, is relevant.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 13: Oh, very accessible.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 13: Oh, very much so. You know because the national and provincial papers, it's news at a different level. Not to say it's at an unimportant level, it's just at a different level. You know, I wouldn't expect to see parliamentary reports in the *Fourways Review*, however, and I think this is partially my fault and the fault of my colleagues, we should be more communicative with the *Fourways Review* with what comes up on council agendas affecting our wards and it's something I've just thought of now. You know, when it comes to the last Wednesday of the month we get a, no no no, I will tell you how this should be tackled. The city council meeting always takes place on the last Thursday of the month. They put their paper to bed on Monday afternoon. Somebody should contact the councillor in the wards around here on Friday, or send an email or WhatsApp or whatever, and ask was there anything on the council agenda which is of importance to these wards. How's about that?

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 13: Oh yes, very much so.

RESPONDENT 14

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Sun Valley?

Respondent 14: I've been in Sun Valley since 2007.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 14: Rivonia.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 14: At the right time of the day 23 minutes, at the wrong time of the day, it can be up to an hour and a half.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 14: Pretty involved in my neighbourhood. I know a lot of people on my street and Sun Valley Residents' Association. So, I know them pretty much and I am involved very much in a background kind of way. I have got everyone's information and I will disseminate information and what I find I let them know and that sort of thing and if I can attend all of the meetings I do, but not always.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 14: I think it is of such paramount important that the fact that Sun Valley have a generic mailing system for people who live in Sun Valley, not necessarily the one who are on the residents' association, have this mailman that they disseminate information for, and I think that's really great but, what I don't appreciate what they do is that they have a censorship and a lot of information does not get disseminated and I think that information is so vitally important that I have my own mailing list and so what they don't put out to all, I will put out because people absolutely have to know what's going on. You can't make an informed decision if your thoughts are being herded by what other people want you to think. You have to have the information to make the decision and I think that trumps anything else.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 14: Constantly, but what it is will depend on what is in my face at the time. I have to find so much every day that I read the first paragraph, so I go

onto News24, I have newsfeeds on Facebook to various places and I have follows on various places that have information that I read all day and I share it out all day.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 14: Mainly online because it's quick, because it's simple, 10 minutes there.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 14: I read the snippets that I find on Facebook. Now, the problem that we have here is that with us being Ward 112. With the new demarcations, we are going to be Ward 94, but the problem in this area is that we do not get anything, so unless all of us here make a point of going somewhere on the day the paper is published to make sure there is a copy there that we can pick up, we don't get it. I did talk to Ivan across the road and he had agreed to be a distributor of the paper but then the business closed down and so that can't happen. But he had agreed and I would have fetched 20 here and plonked them at the restaurant and everyone could have taken but there's no way of, there's no central place that people can go to get their copy, because they are not delivered, you know, they should be delivered. A copy should be thrown into every property in the valley, and I do think that that is important, because it doesn't happen, the only bits that I like to read are the ones that I read online.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 14: Because it's very important to know what's happening here. I think it is important that the community, everyone who lives here, know that these things are happening. So, I find it and I share it.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website?

Respondent 14: If I have the time I will go onto the website but generally I have an RSS feed, I get what's coming on Facebook rather than me going to it, so I get quite a bit of it without having to go onto the page. It's a bit like News24, you go onto it and you get lost in it for the whole day.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 14: There is nothing that I wouldn't click on to look at but there are things that I wouldn't share. I don't share absolutely everything. If an opinion piece is racially skewed, I won't share it. If you want to find out about that, go and look at it yourself, I am not into sensationalism. You know, if the paedophile is not in our area then I won't share it. Somethings you can't 'un-know' once you know them and people don't have to absolutely know all of the bad of everybody in the world so there are some things that I would not share. But as well, one has to learn from Dianne Kohler Barnard and one has to be very careful of what one does share, and that's also limiting me a bit because I also don't read everything to the end, it's more if the headline grabs me, I will click on it and I will read the first paragraph and may read until halfway through but unless it is superbly written and the writing grabs me and I won't read it to the end, and that's where you can get lost and the last paragraph can have the thing that it shouldn't. So, I do have to be a little circumspect in that regard, but if it's a news article, then it's usually fine, but one has to be a little bit careful about other people's opinions.

I'm not into sports and I'm not into schools anymore because my kids are all grown up and have left home but I do read the schools' articles because our youth is so important and I do read them and I will share them because there are so many people around here who do have children and who do need to know, and I am following the students' protest because it is vitally important because they are our future.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. Do you ever do that?

Respondent 14: Often, and then never post. I very often have an opinion and I very often write my opinion but I very seldom share my opinion.

Interviewer: Is there a reason for that?

Respondent 14: Dianne Kohler Barnard. That was long before her faux-pas. I suppose I like being the one who disseminates the information and because I have such strong views about others skewing and manipulating others' understandings of something. I am very loath to put my opinions to say this is this article and this is what I think about it. Also, because I am politically active I do really need to be careful about it and sometimes my opinion is not always politically correct, and I have to weigh that up and not post what might not be along the party line. And, I won't post what is on the party-line if I don't believe it and if it's not. So, there's that as well.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 14: That's difficult to say because I don't really go back to the original people who wrote it so I don't really know how accurate the reporting is. I do know that from the politicians that I do know that they are more often quoted out of context and misquoted than actually quoted and in context, so I do read with cynicism what the flavour that people's comments are said in. I always say, don't believe everything that you read, so, somebody said something but they may not have said those words in that context. Very well aware of that. But that is journalism worldwide and you read anything, you have to know that a fair amount of editing has happened and the skew and the slant on the editing depends on the bias of the publication and every publication has a bias. So, you get to know that the students are protesting. That is without

dispute, and what was read at Luthuli House was read but the lead up and the aftermath may not have actually been in the way that they news. Very aware.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 14: I've never been reported on, so I don't know what would have been missing and again you need to do the personal research yourself. So, you just have to accept what's there and know that there is a basis that things will be missing, but what's missing will again depend on the bias of the publication.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 14: I expect to find what's happened in my neighbourhood. I expect to find letters from people who have complaints and letters from people who have compliments and the good things and the bad things; the crime and the community spirit, all of it together and I would also like to see that if there's an incident at a school or whatever, how that fits into the country, what, you know a bit of national content and how it fits into the rest of the world. That would also be, so you get a broader view, because for some people, all they read is the local rag, so all they get to read about is where they live and so they don't know a wider view and so sometimes I think if there is a chance to expand that wider view, then it should be taken.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 14: Not at all. No, our local rags are local rags. Totally local rags. I think the opportunity to expand a view, to expand a position, to have a look at what happens elsewhere are not taken, they are not taken advantage of. These are the facts, this is what Gogo down the road thinks of it and this is what the policeman said and this is what the shop owner has to say about it and we are sort of very insular in our little, and it's a problem when it gets into the wider space. Like in America, because it is so big, people because to their own little

space only. I think that being quite so insular and isolated is not good. You need to have a broader view, a wider view and know a broader view of your space in the world. If you only grew up in Orania, and you went to Orania schools and universities, you would grow up not knowing that that community is maybe not as wholesome as maybe it should be. You need the world, you need the broader view. We are not big brother, we are not George Orwell, we don't have the right to control other people's thinking. It is our responsibility to expand people's thinking so they can have their own opinion and not be herded like sheep down a corridor.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 14: Contextualising it, or say go to this website, give them an option. If you are going to write it all it would take up half the newspaper but suggest a book to read or a link to a website or something. Just point, if you want to expand it's there and you can go.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 14: No, I don't think so. There is a little bit from everyone in the community and there's something that will appeal to everybody and I might not read it all but because I don't read it all doesn't mean it's not a reason for it to not be there. I don't have to read it all.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 14: I don't like that I don't get it. That is what I particularly do not like. That no distribution plan has been made so that I can get it. I do not like that. There's no business here that a stash is dropped off at. I don't know what the solution is but it's definitely a hole.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 14: Not at all, it is the voice of the editors. It's the bias of the editors. I believe that the publication is coloured by the position that the editor wants to take. I could possibly be even accuse them of not printing letters unless those letters also reflected those opinions, or public opinions, that those that should be printed would probably not be because of the position that the editor takes so, maybe I am a bit cynical on that view but that's what I think.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 14: I think they read it to see what's going on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 14: I don't think so. I think they look to themselves to be the watchdog, they look to their RAs. Not even their ward committees or their councillors. And, they like to have as many people as they can in these organisations just to pick up what they need to know and bring it back. I think there is a general distrust of the information that we're being fed. We would rather go out and verify as much as you can. There's too much to verify everything and at a certain point one has to take it on trust but I think the local papers currently our local papers are not reflective of our current community. I think they have been politically hijacked. But as for the local newspapers, especially considering that both local Wards 93, 112 and 94 are DA wards, very little about what the DA councillors are doing gets into the local newspaper, but they are the ones being active and they're comment doesn't get published, and it's not as if it's a balance. It's unbalanced. It's not like if you are reporting opinions there are equal quantities of views and this is what everybody says on the article, it's not that, it's skewed. It's definitely ANC bias and very little of everything else gets in. And it's not fair.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 14: No, they would probably and I would probably look to the newspaper to look for contacts and use that and go direct to where you need to go to. No, I don't think anyone goes to the local newspaper to help solve a problem. I have got hold of *The Star* to say look, we've got this problem and what can we do to solve it but that's because her Metro watch sometimes works. In this particular time it didn't. But, you need more than a local newspaper to bring the pressure to an organisation who doesn't want to do anything, to bring pressure on them to pretend to do something. A local newspaper has not got that clout.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 14: No, but I do have two that I am thinking of.

Interviewer: Okay, and in bring those issues to the paper what role would you hope the newspaper to play?

Respondent 14: That the community would put pressure on whoever needed to have pressure on to bring about a solution. Because that's where the pressure is going to come from. The paper's not going to put pressure on anybody to do anything. A radio presenter host maybe needed to put pressure onto shaming and naming because it is quite so nationally published but a community paper isn't going to have the same results as a radio presenter would bring awareness.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 14: I haven't yet, so I don't know.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as being 'yours'?

Respondent 14: No I don't. I am quite objectively removed from it. I just know it's there and I know there is information on it.

RESPONDENT 15

Interviewer: Which suburb do you live in?

Respondent 15: I live in Bryanston.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 15: For six years this year.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 15: Two minutes, I'm very fortunate.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 15: We were more involved when we lived in our previous complex but we go to complex meetings, we often support whatever is going on, school events, whatever, new restaurants. We love Bryanston.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 15: For us it's very important, not just from an entertainment point-of-view but from a community safety point-of-view too, especially I when you start a family I think you think okay shall we stay here or shall we start looking for somewhere else, what is going on around you, is it the right kind of environment?

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 15: In our house if it's not my husband who is constantly updating us, he has a million apps on his phone, we keep up-to-date with what's going

on, we read our local newspaper, we follow forums on forums like “I love Bryanston” so we keep up to date.

Interviewer: How often do you read the community newspaper?

Respondent 15: I read it the minute it comes out because obviously my interest is with Bryanston High School. I’d say my husband picks it up every second week or so, and if there is something interesting in it then he will go and search for it.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 15: I probably spend about half an hour a week seeing what’s going on. Not just reading about Bryanston High School but also reading about what other schools are doing and also what’s going on in our community.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 15: I go to schools first and then I kind of go to the front, see the main stories and then I come back to the back and check what else is going on.

Interviewer: Are there any sections that you never read?

Respondent 15: I guess that also depends where you are. So, sections like the classifieds is not something that I would read. Sometimes the property section is interesting if you know someone who is looking for a house but if you’re not then you just skip over. Not really the business section. I probably read the main stories, the school stuff and if there’s any entertainment pages. The rest I kind of leave.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 15: I use those a lot. I always try to see what's interesting in each of those sections and then turn to those pages.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the community newspaper social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 15: I haven't done that. I go online if the paper hasn't come out yet or if I go online and I see someone has shared a story that I want to read about then I will go online. But going from the actual paper to that [online] I haven't done yet.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 15: Yes, I think especially because you can't always sit down and read a paper but sometimes you just want to catch up, so you use it in the car [using a cell phone].

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 15: From personal experience there have been some cases where it has been a little bit off but I also think it's different sides of a story so there are some inaccuracies, but as for the rest, but for the other stuff I guess it's great.

Interviewer: Do you pick up errors in the stories?

Respondent 15: Just in the stories that are relevant to us. When you're so familiar with something you think, maybe that could have been worded differently, it is maybe leading to the wrong impression.

Interviewer: Do you remember an example of one of those experiences?

Respondent 15: The one that sticks out the most for me is that when the matric results came out last year there was a miscalculation on how many distinctions the students had received and I think it was just from the information that we had sent, but it was quickly corrected. It was swapped around so it meant our students had only received 89 distinctions instead of 165, which for us was a huge thing. And maybe, just if they're unsure because 89 distinctions when you're a school that's usually getting around the 180 or 200 mark, that's weird, you know.

Interviewer: Why do you read the local paper?

Respondent 15: It's to look for the school stuff, to see what's new in local business that we could be supporting, because we love the area we live in so we're always looking to support.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 15: Crime stats is a big one for us, especially it's about starting a family and wanting to know that information. Also to know what are the good things that are going on. What are people achieving in our community, you know, it creates a sense of, you kind of engage in the spirit of the area and feeling cool because it's a nice area to live in.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe the community newspaper fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 15: On the most part, the paper is doing that. I know there are big crime stories and we often get the information that we want to, and be like okay it is a big story but we can make the right decisions based on that. Sharing the cool stuff that's going on, we get that too.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of the community newspaper better?

Respondent 15: I think maybe just supporting the schools by having more reporters coming through, just the interaction. Parents love it, they are oh-my-word my little darling is being spoken to and the kids love it. With the athletics story that was run a couple of weeks back, it was, the photo that was chosen was just one of the coaches with a pupil and he went around the whole school telling everyone that he was in the paper, and it was just him and the coach and he was so proud of it. From that point-of-view, if there was more interaction like that, that sort of spirit would grow, and maybe it would build a better reception with learners. They know because we put it out but I don't know how many of them are reading about what is going on in their community beyond that.

We usually just send information to the journalists. Only for matric results or for something that is maybe a little bit negative, then we get contacted.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 15: People like to see photos. I think especially in the school section there is always good photos and I enjoy it and I think that's what the target market, the schools there, they want to have smiling faces and that going up.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 15: Not particularly.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 15: I would say it is quite a big voice of the community. In terms of the schools and what's going on it is the biggest sort of platform for those things. There's not really anywhere else that shares that type of news.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 15: Probably from my experience it is for raising awareness, that's how I would see it. But I think it could play other roles, like the watchdog, keeping the community intact and holding people accountable for things that are incorrect but also celebrating those aspects are doing well.

Interviewer: And do you think it is already fulfilling those roles?

Respondent 15: I think to some extent it does it, but I think there are small areas that there could be some improvement. Perhaps there could be more, getting involved with the actual people that are in the community.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 15: For us it is just about getting positive exposure for the school so we want to share our achievements, but not just for the school but also sharing the achievements of the pupils from the community who are coming out and achieving on an international level. We also try to encourage their futures and encouraging where they want to go. It's a small thing from the school's point-of-view to send an article about a learner but for them and their families, it's often a big thing. It's not always our privileged learners that are doing those things. We've got some learners who have worked really hard to get where they are and they've got scholarships and they've got people supporting them to get through. For the school, when we ask if we can send something through, their families are often so appreciative.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 15: On the most part, when we do send the info through on those learners, they do get it right and the learners get really excited about it.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 15: Usually I just contact the journalist directly and say this is what we actually meant and would you mind just correcting it. I must say, from what I have experienced so far, they have said yes, sure and it has been corrected. Obviously sometimes when they have gone to print then there is more of an issue but usually it has been online that we have seen the issues, so that's also the importance of following the paper online before it comes out, because we do want to make sure that the right information is put across.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find the community newspaper's team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 15: Mostly I find them pretty accessible. There have been one or two times that it has been hard to get hold of them, but I guess that's part of everyday, daily life, sometimes you're busy or sometimes you're in a meeting that goes longer. So you have to understand that just as much as there are a million people who want to get hold of me, it's the same for them [the journalists].

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 15: Yes, because of the community interest, it is a lot easier to get in contact. Even with matric results, it's a thing because even some of our learners are getting top awards, like in the 90 [percent] and with the national paper, even on that level, it is difficult to get that information through.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 15: Ya, for me personally, because of the connection with the school, the school views it and the marketing team views it as our paper and so we are always pushing to get the information through and our learners love it. So there is quite a bit of excitement.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 15: On my side it's to see what's being put in, what kind of marketing coverage we are getting from that, and also to from a general point of view, is there something interesting going on that I should know about but I don't know about, is there something I am missing in the community? That kind of thing.

Interviewer: To what extent would you say that the community is fulfilling that expectation?

Respondent 15: On the most part I think it does that.

RESPONDENT 16

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Paulshof?

Respondent 16: Three years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 16: We've had this yard [in Paulshof] for seven years.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, and attend community events?

Respondent 16: Very. I belong to the Paulshof Residents and Ratepayers committee and I am on the environmental portfolio for Ward 93, which is this entire area, Sunninghill, Beaulieu.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 16: Extremely important.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 16: Well, I certainly read the local paper, the *Fourways Review*. We've had quite a few articles in that so, I've liked the way they've communicated with us and if we've had an event, they've always communicated with us and they've always, really always here, so that's awesome.

And, even more important than the newspaper we have community chats. So we have a street chat, for mainly security or if there are spills on the rivers. I also see the website for the association, and we also get SMSes if there's a problem and the association also have a chat, so there's a lot of that. I will be quite surprised if something happens and I don't know about it.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 16: Every week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 16: Probably one hour.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 16: No. From the front to the back, and I pull out the ads.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 16: I don't. I would scan it but I would still go through the paper because there might be something in the paper that is more relevant to me and is not there.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader? Do you access the news on *Fourways Review's* website?

Respondent 16: No.

Interviewer: Is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 16: Well, what I find interesting is that there is always something about a horse, whether it is something like they've won a competition. They do seem to be interested in that, so that, for us, is number one. That's often what I scan through and often on the back page there is something to do with horse riding or somebody won a show, that is often of our interest, you know.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 16: No, not that comes to mind.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 16: Yes, and we've been on the front page many times.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 16: I've seen that but I've never done it. I find enough information in the story itself. Nothing has involved me that much that I've had to go beyond [the newspaper].

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 16: I think it's very good. I personally have had a comment made that I "said" which wasn't. It was taken out of context. That's a personal issue and it probably happened five years ago. But that was the only thing. It was kind of an off the record but then it was printed. So, that's purely a journalism thing

and it was a long time ago. It was with a guy that is no longer with the *Fourways Review*. I think it's accurate and I can't comment because I wasn't there in most of the issues and the content of the stories, but no, when it comes to the riding it's very accurate and it's full, it's good.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 16: Local and in the close vicinity, because quite a bit happens here in Paulshof, whether it is in Leeuwkop Prison, there's always action happening there, and then you wait until the next week and there it is. I have noticed that a few of the events we've had have been delayed to the next week. So if something happens on the Saturday, then we get it [the newspaper] on the Wednesday and we see we have to wait for 10 days. I have noticed that [delay]. But we don't care, as long as it's in. It's a report and it's not a problem to be attended to. Then I would imagine that the website would be very useful, if I am looking for immediate information. But I am quite happy with when we get it. I think it's great.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 16: It really does. Any issue that's happened around here, or in Sunninghill or even as far as Woodmead we've seen the information and it's been there and it's correct.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 16: No. But there's good photo journalism. There's always a photograph with the story. There's always a horse story, which is perfect. So, you're speaking to the right person. And then we take a picture, and we send it to our chat group, something that is of relevance.

Interviewer: And do you have a conversation about it?

Respondent 16: Yes, absolutely. And I've never [had the experience] that people have said, no that didn't happen, or no, those people were not there, so it's accurate.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 16: If we are doing something and we want to advertise it, *Fourways Review* is the first avenue that we will contact, so definitely, it is our number one. Certainly and then our website, but when we have our association meeting we always say, well we must speak to a journalist or whoever from *Fourways Review* to put that in.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 16: It's very good.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watch dog or, do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 16: Yes I do, because there was a public open space which was under duress where the government wanted to sell it, and that was all over and people were standing up and they [the paper] were definitely taking the person on the street's point of view and I like that. That's good. And also giving details, facts.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 16: I suppose just locally the Spruit Day is important and it's become an annual event. There's nothing that's happened here that I've thought that should have been in the paper and it hasn't been. So, that's probably good.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 16: Yes, very helpful, yes.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 16: Yes, something that I said off the record was put in print. At the end of the day it's no big deal but it did happen but as I mentioned it was a long time ago but certain things stick.

This is interesting though *points to the paper*. I actually saw this on Facebook on the Monday and by the Wednesday it was here and I thought oh I actually know about that, so it's definitely actual and it's definitely what's happening, which is great.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 16: Always. Whether it's a phone call or email, it's always easy to find somebody.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 16: Yes, because I have to go and buy that, I have to go to a shop. This *points to *Fourways Review** is put in our gate, three, we get three.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 16: Very much so. If anything goes wrong this is the first direct avenue we're going to take to the *Fourways Review*. We don't even consider *Sandton Chronicle* or anything like that, and I know some of it is duplicated but no, this is for sure, this is ours. And my grooms, they love this newspaper. I look through it and a couple of hours later and they are all gone. I see Michael sit

and he is looking through it so, my employees all read it. I don't know if they are just looking to see what is on special, but they do look at it.

RESPONDENT 17

Interviewer: So you live in Paulshof Hill, and you work in Paulshof Hill as well?

Respondent 17: That's correct, I work from home.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 17: I've been in Paulshof all together for 11 years.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 17: Very, chairlady of the Paulshof Hill committee, also involved with the Paulshof Residents and Ratepayers committee. Obviously we feed into the PRRA, then I'm on call with our ward councillor. Because of the location of Paulshof Hill, our borders are quite problematic and has been in the past, so we've established a good relationship with the power entity, for the servitude behind us, to keep it clean and eradicate all the lantana from the reserve, so the reserve, all of that has been addressed, the security boundary has been addressed. We have put up the security fencing, the boundary wall has been put up again, it's a constant battle to try to get them to sort that out.

At least things are happening. It takes five years, but it is happening. If we are not in contact with the powers that be, we will be in trouble.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 17: Extremely important.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 17: I think by being in touch with our ward councillor Annette Deppe, and her incredible open door policy that anyone can phone her. She hasn't always got the answers, but at least she tries. I don't think that a community today can survive without that open door policy. Fortunately we have a DA councillor that is able to get through to the core and it's not just empty promises. I think communities are changing that they are taking the power themselves. For example, all the smash 'n grabs that happened here on the Cambridge bridge, now everyone was saying what are you doing, what is the government doing. With simple phone calls I was able to turn it around. I phoned security companies and I've arranged for six months, I put them in alphabetical order for Monday to Thursday, from 4pm to 8pm they were there, they responded from there, on a Friday we asked SAPS to sit there, they never did. At least it stopped the smash n grabs immediately. So, I think it's important for communities to know that you will not get anything from government. Your levies are not being used for what they are being used. If you don't knock on the doors and turn situations around and realise that you as a community need to do it and not just wait for the government to do it, I think it is a mind-shift and you realise not to just sit and wait for government to change. I don't want to say I don't care, but what matters to me is the security of my home and my family and I've worked damn hard from early to late at night to have the life by choice, but therefore, I will protect it with everything that I've got, without throwing out problems all the time, by using the community to help. For instance, the trees that they planted along Umhlanga [Road], in the middle of winter, no water. We've said to them, you can't do that. We've said to them, you can't do that. Out of the 250 trees, three survived. Last year, when they started again. We said, okay what are we going to do, we're not going to fight and be ungrateful, let's do an adopt-a-tree and the trees are surviving. And the trees are surviving. Out of the 300 trees, I think only five have died, and why? Because the community got involved. So, it's not about what the legislation says, it's about the community getting involved and making it liveable for us.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 17: Every week when it comes out. I love it.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 17: Struggling to find the good stories, but also knowing what's happening in the community, and immediately giving feedback to the Paulshof Hill impis, to the Paulshof residents chat group, and to take photos. For example, someone did something at the animal centre and it's in the newspaper so I took a photo and send it onto the chat groups so everyone knows, Paulshof is in the news. And now you can see the one SMS on the groups that says the water outage that was supposed to happen today is happening tomorrow. Although the email, no one never informed the residents that there would be a water outage. We only got to know about it late yesterday afternoon on the chat group, and then someone phoned yesterday afternoon to ask if there is a water outage, oh yes there is an outage, but they never informed. They have our telephone numbers, they have our email addresses but we were never informed. You know, we cannot sit back and wait for them just to not, they don't. We know that and it's a fact. They do not do their work, the bare minimum that is expected from them and I hope that the involvement of communities on a constant basis to ensure that they know how important it is, without that, our communities will fall to pieces. There will be potholes, there will be burst pipes, and if we don't take control if we don't start our own local community authority. What we as Paulshof Hill want is that we pay our rates and taxes and it gets paid into the local community. That's where we want to grow it to.

Interviewer: How does *Fourways Review* fit into that? Would you consult *Fourways Review* to find out about the water outage before going to the City?

Respondent 17: Well that's what we used to do [call the City] and I think by being an online community newspaper can give us that information, because phoning alone takes you on average, and I phone them every time there is an outage, on average half an hour, and then you still get an "Eish" answer so it's not a competent person answering the phone, they don't even know how to deal with customers, there is no proper language skills involved. Unfortunately

people can't even give a competent answer to the person who has a R4 million house. You know you put someone in charge of communicating to the public, but it doesn't even sound like they've got matric. So that's the problem, the communication line. So, where *Fourways Review* can come in is to have those contacts, and for them to know that there can be one spot that they can get information and know that they can go to one spot for that information and the community can know that they can go to them for the information.

Respondent 17: Do you think that's missing at the moment?

Interviewer: Yes, because now, Annette is on our Paulshof chat, so as soon as I hear of something I put it on the chat. So as soon as I get information, I will put it on the Paulshof chat, and she will respond to that, or as soon as she gets information on anything and she will putting it on there. I mean, take for example the other day I was walking the streets and I saw people measuring. So I stopped and asked what they were doing and they said they were measuring for sidewalks. Oh my hat. This is such great news. Why is that not being communicated? So now I can go back to the community and say that if you see people measuring, it's because we're getting sidewalks, and so be aware. And all of that can again feed back to the newspaper.

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 17: You see, I think communication from the newspaper is two-fold. One, to communicate incidents that happened or facts that happened, and two, to be proactive in informing the residents of things that might happen, and so I think there needs to be a balance between the two. However, I feel that, and I think that's just society as a whole focus more on negative stuff and less on positive stuff. I would love to pick up the *Fourways Review* and don't need to page to page five to pick up on the positive story. I want positive stories on the front page and crime on the last page. Just after the sport, literally.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 17: I literally go from start to finish. I take all the stuff [adverts] in the middle out and throw it away, it goes straight into the dustbin.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 17: No, I just start at the front and page through to the back.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 17: I know that I will get to the story. But again, if it is a positive story, I will turn to that story first. If it grabs my attention.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 17: Never.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 17: No, to be honest with you, I haven't [used the website].

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 17: Obviously I read the crime so that we can be up-to-date with our security tactics, to know which gangs are operating and where. And what the modus operandi is. We often use the information in there [*Fourways*

Review] to tell our residents to look out. We often say there's been a story, be on the lookout, or taking a photo of the story and sending it to the WhatsApp groups to ensure that people know about it, if it's important to us.

Interviewer: Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 17: I think it's much easier to write about negative stories and crime and whatnot because you're dealing with facts, so it's easy journalism. I would like to see more investigative journalism where you can see there's been a lot of effort and research gone into particular stories that are important to the community, and to update the community on important stories, for example the K60. I know that you have sporadic information about it, and that there's enough forum for the community to comment directly on that, where I think the webpage to be more interactive on that where the community can say, well, what's happening on that, we were supposed to have the environmental impact study by February, it's now so many months later, what's happening, why? So that the community don't need to go and do that research but maybe the newspaper, with the muscle that they've got can go and do that research and phone those guys directly and say, alright, you were supposed to have that study out in February, what's happened to that? Residents are not anxious about the K60, but it will impact on our lives in Paulshof and it will also impact on the crime because it will open up for other areas coming into Paulshof whereas we were quite secluded because we only had one exit road, which was easily managed by four or five entrances. More on that. You know telling the community, yes there is a fence around the reserve and no it hasn't been working and that the fence has been cut, so that the community can almost rely on the newspaper to push issues for us, not anymore but I've copied our local reporter, for a lot of things for this and whoever, but I don't always see there is something being done from her side, saying you know, I am from the newspaper. You know, in the past, if you phoned from the newspaper, things started happening. That's not happening.

Interviewer: And so do you think that *Fourways Review* should be taking more of a hard-line on issues?

Respondent 17: Yes, definitely, and have a stance and open up those communication lines. I mean, the reserve and all the Lantana that is overgrown, go in there, take a photo and show the residents what a state the reserve is. And if residents are not going to make their voice heard through the newspaper exploiting this. Because the newspaper is almost independent from this and people can almost give their comments to it, so if they don't exploit that and tell the residents, hey, open your eyes and look at the little river here and the bridge, the illegal taxi rank. No one is doing something about it. I mean, I know that the newspaper has reported on it before, and I've been quoted in it before on the illegal taxi routes but they must also follow-up. You know, to constantly follow up and on a weekly basis take photos and say to JMPD, the taxis are still here, what are you doing, and phone all the heads of JMPD, and say this is a real threat. This is breaking the law and jeopardising our safety. That's what makes residents feel like it's a lawless country.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 17: I just say, there's a lot of advertising material, I just say although your paper is only 10 pages, because of all the advertising, it comes out looking like 30 pages. I think in terms of the layout or anything like that, I can't fault them. I think photos grasp the story so I think photos are important.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 17: Good.

Interviewer: How could the editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 17: No, good. Very good.

Interviewer: How could the journalists fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 17: I think what's important is for a journalist in the Paulshof area to have very close contact with community leaders so that, they can't be everywhere all the time. It's the same as what we have in Paulshof Hill with the impis on the ground. It's like with our gate which has been broken for over a year. I walk past there so I took a photo and then I send it on to the Paulshof Hill group. Now, if I passed it onto a journalist to exploit the lack of service delivery. You know, that's what we are paying for.

You know there is so much wanting to help, businesses in the area. We should be enhancing and exposing their will to help in the newspaper. Mugg and Bean has sponsored another walk. So that our community support our local businesses, and the local businesses support the community.

Interviewer: To what extent is *Fourways Review's* journalists fulfilling that role?

Respondent 17: Yes, I think it's important that they establish that role that they are informed but that the community knows that they have reported it and it will be investigated. So it's almost like a tip-line. The community on its own, it's almost as though it's a bit stronger by opening up the lack of them [the municipality] doing their job at least.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 17: Awareness. But I think that it will make a bigger difference if it is followed-up. I think there could be a lack of responding in keeping the community informed. It's been six months since we've reported this, and nothing has happened, we have approached City of Joburg and this is what they said. It's not good enough. We went further. We went to the mayor, we spoke to the ward councillor who will address it at her Joburg 10 Plus meetings. I think that might give the newspaper more muscle, and people will literally grab

that paper to see what happened to the girl who was dragged by the taxi, what is happening to the K60. The community doesn't need to ask the constant questions. I think there needs to be a follow-up [by the journalists], "Remember we gave you that story, we will give you an update in a month's time so that it doesn't get left."

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 17: I don't think it's the voice of the community yet, but it can get there.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 17: I think it's more information and facts being given. There's not a lot of investigative journalism that happens, and that makes news interesting. For instance to say that the lantana that is growing at the reserve, to really follow up and take photos and say, you know two years ago they had an environmental impact study done but in the meantime, the real threat is that the lantana spread into the reserve, now, the entity is just cutting, they're not removing it off site, so now the lantana has spread over.

And have an article, lantana, this is what it looks like, this is why it is an evasive species, it drains our water. More stories with balls, not just, there was an armed robbery there and we are just knocking the facts. Almost like, making the community think.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 17: My personal view, I think I saw a reporter maybe over a year last. Things have changed. I would like to see her at Mugg and Bean and arrange with Jamie that when she comes here, please give her a free cup of coffee, so she doesn't need to use money. To have a relationship and really talk

about the residents. I think in an ideal world that would be nice and residents would be so appreciative. By making friends, sitting with the community at events talking to the community. Not just sitting somewhere and being copied on an email.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as ‘yours’?

Respondent 17: Greatly, it’s definitely our paper. In the past year, it’s a bit like it’s not that much anymore. The PRRA also plays a role in giving feedback on what they are working on, so that the residents know, look this is what our leaders are doing, so the PRRA can on a weekly basis inform the paper on things they are working on.

There are things that need to be constantly followed up. Almost have a diary, and say, so, I’m the reporter, let’s follow up in six months and let the editor know that if you are sick or whatever, the editor knows, there was this story, and people were supposed to come back and they are not so let’s follow it up.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper? (For example, because it is on your doorstep, because you have a genuine interest in local news, etc)

Respondent 17: Curiosity, to see what’s happened. To keep up with what’s going on. You know on a Wednesday I literally can’t wait and I hear the dogs bark and then I say, okay, there’s the newspaper. I go out and I’m the first one to touch the newspaper. But make it so that when Tony comes home he can also say, it’s Wednesday, what’s in the newspaper and quickly page through it before supper. I think with electronic media, there should be a *Fourways Review* app to train us where to go to look for information to look for things. You know we’ve got these things *points to cell phone* we must use it.

RESPONDENT 18

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Chartwell for?

Respondent 18: 33 years.

Interviewer: And do you also work in the area?

Respondent 18: Not anymore, I have been retired for 10 years. But when I worked, it was not in Chartwell but in Sandton and Randburg.

Interviewer: How involved would you say that you are in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 18: Very. I've been on the committee. We have had an active landowners committee ever since we have been here and I was on the committee about 20 years ago, and then you can only take so much before you have to get out. And then actually the conference centre thing was actually a catalyst. We didn't realise that we were living on a wetland at that point in time, and realising that, it was fantastic, because we realised that we needed to save it, you know, rehabilitate it. So, since then, I have been very involved and we have done a lot of wonderful things in the last two years.

Interviewer: And so you have been involved with most of the other residents?

Respondent 18: Most of the other wetland residents [people living on the wetland] to start with, and then they co-opted me back onto the committee because we have actually put Chartwell back into the conservancy. And that all started because of a conference centre and their misdemeanours. So since I've been retired I have been very involved. You can't be really involved with having a full-time job.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 18: Very, and most, not just me because I am involved in the committee, I think most people want to know what's going on.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 18: Ya, we get the *Times* every day and, I've given up on the *Saturday Star*, and we get the *Sunday Times* and the *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: And how often would you say you read the *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 18: I read it every week.

Interviewer: And how much time would you say you spent reading the paper every week?

Respondent 18: Well, I don't read the political nonsense any more, I skip that, so I can skip quite a few pages. I read the things that interest me. The stories that pop up.

Interviewer: Is there some sections that you always read, and others that you never read?

Respondent 18: Well, when we and our kids were looking for houses, I always looked at the property section, but now they all have houses, so I don't bother with that. My husband always reads the motoring sections. I don't really read the sporting sections. I get enough from TV, really for what I want. I always read the local content for what is happening in the *Fourways Review* in and around the local area. The first two pages, to see who is doing what, and the environmental things.

Interviewer: And how do you feel about the community sections, with charities doing different things?

Respondent 18: Yes, fantastic. And also now for us, now that we have formed a conservancy, that actually ties in because now we can work with those people.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you think is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 18: I don't think so. I mean, I would rather read articles than advertising. I would rather see pertinent articles.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 18: I don't. I take all of the adverts out and put them to one side, because I do find them very useful. But I go through the whole newspaper, I don't read every article. I go through every page of the newspaper.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 18: Ya, it is ya.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 18: Yes, I think that's good.

Interviewer: Do you use it?

Respondent 18: I don't. I am basically computer literate. I am from a different generation.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 18: It is fine. Sometimes because I do know what is going on in the community. I mean, I know what is going on in Gekco and in the Rhenosterspruit. My only concern with those community [news] articles, is God, they have got to be accurate. If they are not accurate, they can cause so much damage, and I am not so sure that they are always accurate. I think really strongly that you need to go back to whoever to check the facts before they are put out there and then there is misrepresentation, and people get the wrong idea. And sometimes the repercussions are really quite big, you know.

Interviewer: Have you had any experiences of some of those?

Respondent 18: I have, but don't ask me to quote them. I have. I mean, I was involved in the K56, Erling Road, whatever, whatever, it is not that the reporters are blatantly lying, it is maybe the way that it is worded that gives the wrong impression and is not giving a really accurate impression of what is happening. I think those sort of things, those community projects where the repercussions can be quite enormous, I think it is really important that the articles go back to whoever source to check the facts.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 18: I expect local content. I don't expect anything else. I don't read the *Fourways Review* for anything else. To know what is going on in my area.

Interviewer: Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 18: Well, it is all important. Sometimes you think of the litter around here, but I think that is going to change with the new [policy], but in the past, you would forever read about the litter outside a shopping centre. There needs to be follow-ups, so okay, so this week it was cleaned up, but by Thursday, it was dirty again. There needs to be a bit more continuity for those sort of things. Or those are the sort of things that interest or worry me.

Interviewer: And so, do you find in general in the paper, a lot of the stories are not followed up and that you would like to see more of that?

Respondent 18: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 18: I do, I think you are doing a good job. I think you do. I think you have a nice balance between local news and other, people's achievements. I mean, it is nice to see what the kids are achieving. Maybe there could be a little more about local schools, you know, what the kids are achieving. I really enjoyed, I don't know which newspaper it is, it might have been the *Saturday Star*, which I haven't seen for quite a while, you know they had an insert with all the schools. They focus mainly on private schools, which is fair enough, because most the kids around here do go to private schools, but not to forget about the kids at government schools. There could be more of that, the kids' achievements in schools.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 18: I think it is fine, I mean, you don't want too many photographs, and I think that you've got the balance quite well.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 18: No, no I don't. I enjoy the *Fourways Review*. I think a lot of people read their local newspaper. I mean, I know when my *Fourways Review* is not delivered on a Wednesday, and I mean I know and either my husband or I will go to the garage shop to go and get one. My maid reads it too. And we sometimes have an argument when it doesn't appear, it is has gone to her first.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 18: I see it as a watchdog because I think it plays an important role. Journalists hear things that we don't and I think it is very important that you do alert us to things happening in the area. Especially in this area which is again, my interest is in the community, where, not only in this area where we are small holdings, but also in places like Craigavon, we are under threat from all sorts of things. I mean, we are not getting the proper maintenance from the

city, the sewage, pump stations and the storm water and the usual, but I guess it is hard to have a newspaper full of complaints and no positives.

That one journalist, which newspaper does she work for? She picks up with a problem and she deals with the authorities, and it is quite good to see she gets a positive response from authorities because they obviously know that they are going to end up in print. I can't remember which newspaper, it is probably the Sunday newspaper. Often she gets a very positive result.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 18: With community things. I think someone phoned *Fourways Review* the other week, because I mean we have got developers on our doorstep and that's our big issue at the moment, all the developers are eyeing us. Look at this big monstrosity that they have built, and I mean we have their sewage coming into the wetland and the storm water is coming through, I mean, GDARD today are in fact going to stop the engineers for a lifestyle estate to stop working because they never applied for a water use license, and all the water is being dumped off the wetland.

What our big issue is that these big developers come along and try and brush over residents, and this is my livelihood, this is my pension and it means nothing to them.

Interviewer: And so what are your reasons for going to *Fourways Review* with such stories?

Respondent 18: From my perspective, I don't think that you have the time or the staff to do it but it would be really great if, we have our side of the story, the developer has their side of the story, it would be really great if someone could go to the authorities and present a balanced view, you know. I mean I had that with the centre as well. I was outraged because of what they were doing to my property, they thought that they were absolutely fine. I mean, I remember one of

the views from council actually been [good]. I mean I remember one of the articles, that guy [from the centre] said, oh no we are going to have braais and music on the lawn, they don't have any permission for that, you know. How can you write such blatant lies with they actually, in some ways the newspaper needs to call those people [out], you know in that instance, and say illegal land use has informed us that they are not allowed to have music on a Sunday and braais and whatever else. Because in many ways, those community issues, that leaves the greater public with a negative perception, like oh well, I am just an aggrieved neighbour. But it is far bigger than that. There does need to be some resolution, or taken to the point that there is some balance for the community, so they can then make an informed decision about those sorts of things. It's not really the job of the paper to solve the problem, but it would be nice if you could put the facts on the table, not just this is the aggrieved neighbour next door, but the facts.

Interviewer: To raise awareness?

Respondent 18: For everybody. I can't tell you with the lifestyle estate, there have been estate agents here with money in their hands trying to buy a property here to use for storage yards to buy up for the lifestyle estate. That's the fight that we are having with developers. This is what this meeting is about on Wednesday. They bought a piece of land, and have applied for storage units. Nobody from Chartwell saw the notices up. It was some time ago, sometime in 2013. I'm not saying they didn't put them up, but I don't know how visible they were. And that is the problem with council, if you lift that window period for objection, well then there is no objections. We sent in objections but we were too late, they acknowledged them but we were too late. Council actually objected because these are agricultural holdings so it has got to fit into the special development plan, so he refused it. So that is what the meeting on Wednesday is all about. It's okay, so a reporter is there on Wednesday but it needs to be followed up, so that, if not you read it, and forget it and it doesn't get followed up. Like the superstore [story], it became an issue, because it was

in the paper often, and even though we don't live there, it's the one that we remember, and okay, it was a big one, but it was repeatedly in the paper.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 18: No, it's just that some of the facts I know are not accurate, but you can't blame it, you know the journalist goes there with no background knowledge and you know, you do your best. That's the only thing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 18: We've never had an issue. When we have phoned, we have never had an issue, it has always been accessible.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 18: Ya, I wouldn't go to there. They are really not relevant to our community, which is why I think the *Fourways Review* journalists need to really put your best foot forward. To be invested in the community. I mean, I go to committee meetings every month, and the first thing that people say is, oh let's go to the *Fourways Review*. It's not, go *The Times*.

Interviewer: Why do they want to go to the paper?

Respondent 18: I think it's out there, and it's a way of exposing the issue. It's not that I think you, it would be nice if you cherry picked different projects and saw them through to some sort of resolution, but no, they just want the exposure.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 18: For local news, and the adverts. I'm retired, I go through all of the adverts, see what I want and then I go shopping.

Interviewer: Do you think other community members share those expectations?

Respondent 18: I do. You know some of the people who work all day, I mean, I have a different lifestyle now, but I have always read the community newspaper.

RESPONDENT 19

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Magaliessig?

Respondent 19: Nine years, it will be nine years in December.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 19: I would say pretty involved. It's mainly MAF [Magaliessig Action Forum], which is how it all started. I am very involved here in Merrow Down of course because I suppose I'm the bloody-minded person. I deal with all the rates problems that everybody has which are quite fascinating. And we have even had some success with them. Then I got the refuse charges reduced which benefits everybody. So that's in Merrow Down. MAF just gets bigger and bigger and bigger. Another success of MAF, which really must be put to Merrow Down's feet, is the fencing of this park area here. I still clean the park, but fortunately a lot of the dog walkers do too and I clean the pavements. So that's been a big success.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 19: Oh absolutely essential.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 19: Oh all the time.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 19: Newspapers. I also look online when I am on the computer but there are never any good stories, there are always bad stories and that's what has always annoyed me about the press. That's why that is good to see *points to the front page of *Fourways Review*, week ending 6 November. Of course, that's a good thing and the sports on the back page are good. Yes, so from that point of view, that is how we access and of course, television.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 19: Because it is a local newspaper and maybe there are things going on that have not come to my attention, because I am not a member of the Magaliessig WhatsApp groups that we have started. We have a young committee member who is an absolute joy.

That's his commitment to the forum and he is the only young person who has come on board and stuck to it.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 19: Every week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 19: I often just skim over.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 19: What I do to begin with is take all the adverts out of the middle and skim through the specials. Most of the adverts get chucked in the bin and then I start at the beginning and page my way through. I do read the editor's comments, you will be interested to know, I like the coverage for the schools I think it is very good. I like the sport on the back, I don't always read it but it is

good and I was very pleased when the former journalist was still here because we got a full page because we had a tennis player who turned 90. So, I think it's good from a local community sort of thing and so I just start at the beginning and page my way through, and that's that.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 19: I think I would normally come to it. I will get there, so it all depends what's there as to what it is.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 19: Ya, I have a look.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 19: The advertising I don't read and the property I will only look for Magaliessig. Then I'm not typical, I am very happy and I don't want to move.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 19: I haven't done that.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 19: I have gone onto the website but not as a direct result from the paper. I have gone onto the website because someone has sent me something, then I'll do it because I seem to spend quite enough time on the computer as it is.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 19: It's not bad. I wasn't the only one in MAF who made a comment about the one reporter. She's now moved on to somewhere else. She's not a good reporter and that's, we've had certainly had two experiences with her [reporting one-sided on a hearing and not staying long enough to capture enough of what happened at a community braai]. No matter about what I said about the other reporter, he's not a bad writer and the others, only him, because he is a guy who phoned me. Maybe he's, as he has worked on a national, it's very different. I've never met him, only on the end of the phone. You don't build relationships on the end of the phone. [Journalist was forcing her to have a comment on the outcome of a hearing]. We had decided what we were going to say and I wasn't going to budge from it, but some of that stuff [reported in the article], he's invented, because I never said it. We had put together our own press statement and he hasn't used it. He didn't use it. So, I haven't taken issue because it's probably only next time that something happens that we will make a move.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 19: Whatever's there.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 19: Yes, as far as I am aware. I don't think I've ever come across anything that I know that's not in the paper, that's of any relevance.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 19: I just think that they should train their reporters a bit better, that would be my comment.

Interviewer: And how could the journalists fulfil their roles better?

Respondent 19: Well, in their approach and communication with the community because you're not going to get co-operation if you don't know how to speak to people. Don't try to bully people, because I won't be bullied.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 19: No, no.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 19: As far as I am concerned I think it is perfectly okay. I sometimes find there is an awful lot about animals and we could have more about people, but I'm people orientated and I am not animal-orientated specifically. I like animals but I am not a bunny-hugger.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 19: No, I don't think so and I do read it, so I think that is, that's important.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community? For example, when you contacted *Fourways Review* to publicise your news, what role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 19: Well, to give more publicity to the area, to Magaliessig and the work that MAF is doing. I think we could have publicised our activities better. We haven't publicised through the paper, the CCTV cameras. I think it will be appropriate to publically launch the CCTV, but who do we talk to in *Fourways Review*? I think we as MAF [Magaliessig Action Forum] should be getting more coverage but the issue is that we must produce the stories. Maybe that's what we should be doing and start to build a relationship with one of the reporters,

which is what I had done with a journalist, then she disappeared and I certainly wasn't happy with the relationship with one of the journalists, because, I didn't think her professionalism was very good. And suddenly, there is all these new reporters. Maybe they should run an article, a group photo, welcoming the new staff so the consumer as it were can know who's who in the zoo, because this way we know nothing. When it says, there will be an article by a Review Reporter, it makes you wonder who on earth that might be. This is telling me, we've got to be more proactive in giving the *Fourways Review* stories. One member knows the group editor, but nothing's happened.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 19: If it was used more effectively it could be a strong voice and a stronger voice for the community. But I think it's a responsibility for the community or the community organisations to use the Review and use is not a good word because it sounds as if it is making use of but it is a tool that needs to be used and I think that we have been slack and we've been slack because a member has always been our communicator and she has been so busy that she just couldn't cope but, it does raise an issue that having looked at this in a more critical fashion than usual, that I can see that we are not making our voice heard. If we don't talk to the *Fourways Review*, they don't know anything about us. I mean, they should, there must be something on record but why does nobody write anything for us. The last thing I did, it was a letter to the editor, maybe I didn't write it, but it didn't get published.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 19: It could be. I don't see it like that at this moment. The watchdog function that it served and has been serving, I mean, page two is generally the crime and police and it used to be the CPF chairperson, but I haven't seen an article by the CPF chairperson for some time now. He used to get a weekly article in which was generally for the CPF. It could be and it could be more. Is it a watchdog for problems, yes it complains about problems and

then gives credit where credit is due. Like, we had a lot of problems with the potholes on Troupant, we've got them fixed, that actually should have gone into the *Fourways Review* and to give a bit of kudos to JRA.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 19: Well, I would be very surprised if *Fourways Review* could tell me what's going on with the water pipes, very surprised because that's going to take a lot of digging.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 19: Yes, to make people aware of what's going on in the community and not just Magaliessig, there's a lot of people in the surrounding areas that are going to be affected by development [of a shopping complex] and so that is why we have to use the *Fourways Review* because it's very pertinent to this particular publication.

Interviewer: Do you think the publication has followed it enough?

Respondent 19: No, I don't definitely not.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 19: Well there could have been some contact, because the only contact we've had from *Fourways Review* has been from one reporter lately. There was with another reporter but in my opinion she was no advert for *Fourways Review*, in the type of work she produced, nothing against her as a person, but we felt it was superficial and didn't reflect what happened, and she sat at the same hearing as us, you wouldn't have thought. We weren't impressed. You know, but it's difficult and to be fair, what is there to report at the moment? We're waiting. Why are we waiting? Because the appeal has been

in the developer's favour, to our utter horror. Now we have sent a submission and we are waiting to hear back from that submission. But what can the newspaper say? It's not really newsworthy for the newspaper to say well MAF is just sitting and waiting, and of course if that reporter phoned me, I would have to put it very carefully. If we had something to say, we would say it.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 19: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 19: No, not since the one reporter left. I spent a couple of hours with her one afternoon on this gas tanks story, and then she left so that was the end of that, so one does get a bit disillusioned and then of course I realised that's he was no longer with the *Review*. I could have pursued it but then that's a waiting game again.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 19: Yes, I think so, because if I am really really peeved off I will contact the paper. Trying to get hold of *The Star* is something different. For another one of the hats I wear, we contacted a journalist of *The Star* and through her article we have got a lawyer to work on a pro-bono basis for an NGO in a business area that was being charged business rates. You couldn't do that through this *points to *Fourways Review**. I don't know how it works.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 19: Oh ya, ya, definitely because it is the paper for the suburb in which we live.

RESPONDENT 20

Interviewer: How long have you worked at the school?

Respondent 20: This year will be my sixth year.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 20: It's an hour and 15 minutes.

Interviewer: How involved are you in the Chartwell community, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, and attend community events?

Respondent 20: Not as yet, because we only moved here in June, we are still trying to find our feet in the community, but we have had an open day to invite the community to us, to see who we are and what we do, so the community are aware of us at this stage, although we haven't had invites to interact with anyone in the community at this stage, although we've invited them to see us.

Interviewer: When was your open day?

Respondent 20: One journalist is supposed to be doing the story. It was on 19 September, so that's why no one knows about it yet.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 20: We are part of the Chartwell North Association, so as you enter Spencer Road, there is a board and it gives details of what is happening in the community. We also have an email, a newsletter that comes to us from Chartwell North Estates, so they do advise us what's happening. I personally as a marketer don't pay too much attention to it, I don't know who pays attention to it, but because we're a school, I suppose if there was anything school related, so I suppose anything to do with crime would be important to us.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 20: Every day.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 20: I have the Caxton App on my cell phone so I get what has happened by the minute, alternatively News24. Seldom radio. I don't have time for TV because I have a kid.

Interviewer: How often would you say you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: I read it every week because I am looking for my school posts. But then on the off-chance when I have time I will go through the paper from start to finish, I am looking for things like crime and, just because I'm a parent and I want to know what is happening in the neighbourhood.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: To find out the crime statistics in the area, to see what events are happening in the area, very important is to find out what specials are happening in the shops in the area, being a parent. The school being at the top of the list as the most important.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 20: I go straight to the school section and then everything else.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: Every week. I deliberately go down to Spencer Road, which has the newspapers delivered there, on a Thursday morning to access the paper, so that I will know first out of everybody else to know whether we are in the paper or not. Being the marketer, it's like I want to know before anybody

else. Sometimes I find staff, because they have their own apps as well to everybody else, they might say, “Oh did you see we are in the paper?” But I like to know first.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 20: Depends, if I am looking only for school things and I know I am not going to have time to go through the whole paper to see if it’s going to see anything was in the paper, then I would look up here, for like Unity’s opening, I would expect it at the top because it is a big event. Otherwise if I know it was just a small event like Unity’s walk, then I’m not going to look there, I am going to go straight to the schools page.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 20: Yes, definitely, because it is a major story. I mean this one that I am looking at for the 9th of October, we’ve had people come here and complain about people riding fast up and down the roads so it related, so it had interest for myself, and so it is something that I wanted to read. I do skim to see if it is something that I would be interested in, but it does relate, this particular story.

Interviewer: How often do you read the website?

Respondent 20: Only if I am looking for something. If I can’t find something in the paper, then I will go and check online. Also, if I am on Facebook and I see it in a personal capacity, I am not going deliberately to it, and I see something that I am interested in, then I go and click on it. It is more from a time point-of-view but like I say, if I can’t get my hands on a paper, then I will go online to the schools’ thing. For me, the paper is like me-time, so if I have any me-time, then I actually enjoy going from beginning to end. I personally don’t have a lot of time, being a new Mom, but, so I am always going to go through a physical

page, if I have the time, because I enjoy that, so I would do that as opposed to reading online. I am only using online as a quick search for school stuff. I go straight to the school tab, I don't even look at the front, I just click straight to the schools.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 20: If it relates to me, then I will, if it relates to other schools, then I won't. I'm looking for things to promote from the things that we've done, and Caxton in the background gets the promotion.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper? The sections are crime, news, metro news, opinion, community, schools, entertainment and sport.

Respondent 20: I haven't ever thought there was something missing. There is one section that I like to read, there's that section where every now and again they've got style and I don't know what's trending, what's hot, it's like a girl's sort of section, the lifestyle thing. I've never walked away saying there's something missing. I know what I can find in here, and it satisfies my needs.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 20: I have in the past had, probably about three articles where the punctuation wasn't up to scratch. That said, I know that the people that had done the articles, their first language was not English, so, not that it's acceptable, but I understood. Sometimes one is quoted as saying something and one doesn't actually say that, which, not hugely offensive things, and it's not all the time, it's just that on the off-chance. You just get surprised when it says, "she said," and you say, but I didn't say that. But it's not damaging. On a

whole, if I ever had a problem, when raised, it was corrected or, most recently in September, on the 4th of September we had the official launch of the school and the wrong names were put next to the wrong people. A journalists' mistake. Not a big deal really to me, but rather to the people that complained about it, it was the staff. But it was as simple as, although the paper was already printed, online it was quickly changed, so it appeased those people that were. But I also understand that it is so fast-paced. So I am forgivable in that sense, and it doesn't happen all the time. So, human error. It happens. I don't have a bad vibe because of it.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 20: It's always crime, but that's because I'm a Mom, so it's because I want to be ahead of what's happening, before I go into that area, whereas before, my needs may have been more on the lifestyle side of things, because it was about me, but now I'm a Mom, so it's about my daughter. Definitely crime. And my second is the school, because I am the marketer, which used to be my first love before I became a Mom, so I would have looked for schools before. But now, if I am sitting at home, I am going to find out about crime in my surrounding area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 20: I think 100 percent. I think for me, personally, it is giving me everything I need, so there isn't anything that I think I could ask for. It is talking about what's happening currently, it gives feedback to articles in the past. I'm happy. I don't have any negative comment.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 20: I have investigated with regards to an article which was published, which wasn't exactly what I had said, I investigated to see if it was possible for me to see if I could see the article before it goes out and I was told that it's not allowed, so I respect that. It would be nice though to make sure that one is comfortable with what is printed and not something that, you know, where the lines are filled in by somebody that doesn't know the organisation. So, that's the only criticism that I could give. I don't know if it is something that could change, if one had the option of seeing what they're saying before it is published. It's not something that I have been offended by. It's not that extreme, but it can be quite off, so that, like I would never have said that, so just to be more, in keeping with our brand and who we are, I would like to have access to what I'm saying so that I have access to what I am saying so that it is verbatim and not just made up.

Interviewer: Where do you think those mistakes come in?

Respondent 20: I haven't been told where they are missing information. So it's coming in on their side, and I am only getting it in print. I don't know where they are struggling. I don't know if it is for a journalist, an editor or whoever to pick up the phone and say, I am missing something, how would I word this? I have never had that communication, so in whose hand, you know from my side, I immediately think it is the journalist because they took the story, because they were here and took the story. I don't know what happens in the processes behind the scenes to final print. I would make myself available so that the sincerity of what's being communicated is true and sincere, but I don't know if that's a process that is allowed or followed or whatever. But again, not grossly offensive, just not what I would have said.

Interviewer: Do you remember an example?

Respondent 20: I can't right now. But probably one of these that I have not dealt with yet, there would be something in there.

Interviewer: So is it how sentences are phrased?

Respondent 20: A whole sentence. One would be accused of saying something, and you think, where did that come from? Because we are still getting publicity from the article that is in there [the newspaper], it is still good publicity because we would rather be in your face than not in your face.

Fourways Review is seen as a vehicle for getting the name out there and the positive that I've received is, "Your name is in the paper again." It's this constant, "You know, you guys are doing such awesome stuff, you're in the paper again." It doesn't affect us if it's one or two things we didn't say, because the rest of the article is saying 90 percent of what we did say, so one can turn their back on it, it's not that big a deal. There was a time, where it was like it might as well have been written in the dark, we were like what is this? So, we get the off ones.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 20: Definitely. I don't know of any other forum where the community is represented. I know that when I am on Facebook, I love Facebook, so when I am at home alone and it's just me and my cell phone, I like to go through Facebook and I know I am going to go through what happened during the day, because there is always stuff. So it's my go-to for the community news.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 20: I do, I do.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems?

Respondent 20: I would probably turn to the paper to help solve the problem. It's because I know that the paper would have a bigger voice and I would be just a minority and another person complaining whereas when you put it in the public eye, there is a lot of pressure on that organisation so stuff seems to happen a lot quicker.

Interviewer: Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 20: I think I did at a stage send a photo of just taxis disobeying the rules of the road. I sent it to one journalist, it was on the spot, potentially life-threatening situations where they were riding on the opposite side of the roads, so I didn't follow up to see if it was published but there had been stuff like that in the paper at the time so having read it, I was just trying to help out by enforcing that we need to get this to stop. Because I had seen it in the paper, it was just like your community member trying to support what you work on. But that's a big organisation to sort of tackle, the taxi organisation, so I think to just start by exposing them, every little bit helps. I also remember I was pregnant at the time so I was probably a lot more protective than what I am now.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 20: It's really creating awareness that there's a special needs school in the area, be it that there aren't any other special needs schools in the area. I know what the readership stats are and so I know that by putting something in here that feedback of, "Oh you're in the paper again," and that repetitive subliminal message, you know, that what I am hoping for is that someone will eventually pick up the phone and say, "Who are you?" and it's just one phone call like that and it ends up in the principal's office and we might just be able to help someone who's special needs, whether it is someone in the community or a friend, that's what we are trying to do, that's what we repetitively put stuff in the paper, because we just want that message to click over to, "Who are you, tell me more?". I don't have stats, because I don't answer the phone, so I don't have the stats of when we put an article in, how many people call but there are some student that come from Midrand, and their parents and parents' friends who say, well we saw you in the paper and well done or whatever, but the reach is good. It might not be for new parents coming to the school, but we definitely having a positive impact on people who are reading the newspaper.

It's good press for us. We would far rather put something in here, than to go to The Star or, you know our coverage area is 20km from here in Chartwell North Estate, so Midrand, all of *Fourways Review*, *Randburg Sun*, they're all taking to our potential parents, so when they continue to see Unity, so the newspaper is supporting us and we're supporting the paper, so it is one hand washing the other. Even though I can't physically see the stats of how many new parents are coming as a result of seeing this here, we are getting positive feedback from people who know us because we are in the paper again.

Interviewer: And is it positive for the pupils too?

Respondent 20: They get very excited when their name or a photo in particular is in the paper. But there is also a sense of pride when the school is [mentioned] even when their names are not mentioned. So, even though there is the *Midrand Reporter* or the *Randburg Sun*, the *Fourways Review* is one that the kids favour being in. If you tell me we ended up in the *Midrand Reporter*, our kids don't necessarily know that they are from that area. Someone may be from the area and then they come and show me and they get all excited because their school was in the paper, but *Fourways Review* seems to be the one that they all get really excited about. What I will do, is I will actually take the articles and put them onto our website, and then they see the association between Caxton and the school and so people are going from my website onto Caxton's website, so they are feeding each other which is good.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 20: *The Star* is so broad, and for what *Fourways Review* offers us, we are an NPO so they offer us putting in a story for nothing, which definitely speaks to us. Putting in a story in a paper as big as *The Star*, we have no guarantee of whose going to read it. We have no guarantee that we are not going to have to pay. If we are going to have to pay, we don't have the fees, we have looked into that sort of thing before, so, we are going to want to hit people in the area that we are here, and that is what you guys are doing for us.

Interviewer: Where are most of your pupils from?

Respondent 20: Most of our pupils are from Midrand. A lot of them travel. Fourways is not the biggest area that our kids come from. A lot from the West Rand.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 20: With the journalists, I have developed relationships with them whereby they actually are quite happy to come and fulfil the need that is required, and I am there to fill in the missing info that they don't have. It is working really well for us. I have never had a journalist who hasn't wanted to come and do the story herself. I think I have met about four journalists in total, well, that have stayed long enough for me to develop a proper relationship with them, with the staff turnover. Now we've met one journalist, who has been a bit quiet, I am not really used to that, there was another journalist, who was there and then not coming to an event, so I didn't really know her. But so far, very supportive. I can't have any other expectation. By them coming here, taking the photos, writing the story it's taking away from me having to take the photos, send them in. They are doing my job for me which, giving me more time to do what I do is only going to be a plus, so I am satisfied.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 20: I don't actually use the numbers in the paper. I always use the email addresses, and I either get a response if not the same day, then the next day, so I can't off the top of my head think of anyone who hasn't responded. It is generally via email. I like a paper trail, so at least when I have forgotten what I was asking about, I can go back and say, okay, that's what I wanted. So it's only for paper trail purposes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 20: Definitely, the kids, they look immediately if they're in the paper. That's why I like to be ahead of them because I like to be ahead of them and get excited in advance, and I know what they're going to be excited. I don't like when they come up to me and say, oh look we're in the paper and I didn't know about it, I'm the marketer, I should know these things. They do think this is their paper. They think all I do is sit and put articles in the paper, so there is that lull and sort of disappointment when we are not in. Even I get disappointed when we are not in because my expectations are to the kiddies. The adults are not as stressed as the kiddies to get in. That said, when the adults get in they say, "Oh, I'm in the paper, so everybody sort of gets excited but predominantly the kids when their school gets mentioned. Because it's a special needs school, so it helps kids who are disabled and so on, which are all very negative things, being in the paper is a very big positive for them. So they enjoy that exposure. We collect them. We build them on the website, so there is a history on the website. In the past I used to Facebook them, before we had a website, and we've got the community on our Facebook that follows the page. I will send an email to all of our databases and give them that link, so they go to our website because we want traffic on our website, and then they go to the *Fourways Review* website, so they go away from our website which is okay, and then they can see the stuff there. We do bulk SMS so we send out a photo or we send a link. It is always something that always get relayed back to the community that we are on [*Fourways Review*].

RESPONDENT 21

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review*'s distribution area you live in?

Respondent 21: Fourways, Beverley. I own property in Lonehill. I have got a couple of businesses in Fourways and I'm involved in community projects in the area.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 21: Well, ever since I got involved in properties 15 years ago, mainly some townhouses, I have always been there since their inception. I have always been a trustee in most of the complexes around Fourways and chairman of most of them, and assisted a property complex in ideas in the planning stage with a lot of them, during my time and during this time I haven't received any remuneration so you can call me a sucker for punishment.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 21: For me it's very, very important, one, because of the person I am, I need to know what's the future of the suburb that I live in because of the properties that I own. I also follow the commercial developments and know what's going to happen with the commercial developments because that's what is going to affect my properties and it keeps me busy so yes, it is very important for me.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 21: National news, I enjoy national news because that will also have an effect on us, especially the political rally that's going on and of late I've become more and more interested in national news because of my involvement with the district, I've got to know how the politicians work and it's opened my eyes to a lot of new things and another world which I was definitely not used to.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 21: The news I access, I enjoy receiving the electronic bulletin of *Fourways Review*. I think it's very informative, very regular, or maybe regular because I've got it on alert on my phone, with other certain ones so the minute a post goes up I get a beep and they basically, they give me the news, not locally only, so I get to know what's going on, so like with the student strikes and so on, the doings in Fourways and a whole lot of things that are very relevant to me.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 21: I look for it. I go find the van. Ya, no every week. Every single week. Electronically and hard copy.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 21: I've always, before this, I've enjoyed the various topics that are in there. I've enjoyed the news that wasn't hard. You know, it's community. I don't read *The Star*, I don't read the *Sunday Times*. The *Fourways Review* is the only newspaper that I read. You know, my other news I get from Twitter. And, how often and what do I read? I read everything. And also, maybe because of my involvement in the community, not only with business but with community things and also with my football club. I want to put articles in there. I want to put articles in there to get the message out. You know, I want to see what other people are doing, and ya, I get involved like that.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 21: Once a week, the day it's out, at least an hour but I go through the whole thing. Although I've seen the whole thing through electronic, I go through it for an hour and then I enjoy going through it again before I go to sleep. So, it's that day, and then again before I go to sleep at night. The go-to-sleep is the specials, and the things like that.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 21: From front to back. I take out the adverts, because then it's lighter, they go next to my bed, and then with the rest of the paper I sit in front of the TV and I go through it.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 21: I don't read the classifieds section. The motor section I enjoy. The first three pages, for me, are very informative, and the sport pages at the back.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 21: I think more community things, more events, more community things like my club, I think this year I went in twice beginning and end, but I think I am starting to get how it works, you know you don't always need a reporter to come out to the event. You know, sometimes what makes it easier for me, I just know you've got to send a high res photo and a story, and it's very important for you to get to know the reporter, you know, I think the disadvantage this year with the *Fourways Review* this year, to me, was the reporters. To me, there was a change. A change of maybe experience that brought them in, you know one journalist, you know unbelievable, you know he was a lesson. He was a lesson and I, when I finished with him I thought God help us because I don't know what's going to go in, and ya, it wasn't right what he put in there. His facts, he didn't understand what I was telling him. But ya, when the digital editor was on the ground it was plain sailing. I've met another journalist now twice, she's very good, very good, she's very ambitious, she's a livewire, she's a go-getter, you can see and she understands.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 21: Yes, you know of late, a lot of influence has influenced the paper with the battle, that's been the highlight and it is evident that there was a bit of muscle thrown in there, with my friend, my friend used his power, used his influence, and the classic example was the interview we did, I can't remember with who, it was about where we were, and I think a member spoke to the group editor, and the group editor said to him she's not going to publish anything until we had the 25 percent signature, which we were fine about and the next week I think it was, they had their big launch and I said to him, watch, and it just so happened that there was ours right next to theirs. So, I said to him that it's

influence, he made a noise, he wants it in, so they put it in. So, to me, it looked as though there was a bit of bias there, a bit of favouritism, because of the way he speaks and I think that had a lot to do with it. And today still, you know you see the postings going in electronically, last week it was no, no we're not going to post anything because of the ruling, so I don't, you know what for me, it's fine because I've got nothing to tell the paper, what have I got to tell? Yes, it's wrong what he's saying. It's wrong what he's saying, but it's propaganda, it's politics. I'm leaving it because it will become a fruit salad if I carry on, and at the end of the day, people don't know which is which, you know so which ever one goes, goes. You know for me, it's this does this, this does this. You know what do you want to do, go clean it.

Interviewer: Do you think that the newspaper is easily influenced by the community?

Respondent 21: No, it's [*Fourways Review*] not influenced by the community. Fourways as a community is very small and in my three year experience of it which I am working on, that was given to me in a restaurant and I realise that Fourways has three or four players that control what happens in Fourways and if you look at the paper, it's got to do with them. It's got to do with resident association; it's got to do with a run, that's the resident association; it's got to do with CPF; it's got to do with the district, it's got to do with the ward councillor. These are the things that run Fourways, it's politics, and maybe I don't know if that sells papers but it probably does, because my nature, I see all of this and then it gets me going so I go ding, ding, ding, ding, ding and I get a story, you know because at the end of the day we will see what happens.

The first couple of pages it is more or less the same. There was a run, it goes in; there was another run; there's a clean-up; Mulbarton Park, it was my idea, I started the residents association, that's where this whole thing started and I got hold of two other residents and they went to the AGM and then I was fighting with another woman, who's his best friend today, absolutely, and I got the call, you have to stand down, because if you stand down, I can tell the other person

to stand down, so I said I don't care, I will stand down as long as the two other residents stay. And that's what happened. One went as the director of the residents association, he is second in charge next to ward councillor and chairman of a sector and so the political party is solid there, which we can't have. But, I've tried to even get an answer there which came back, no, no, no he's in charge of cleaning the streets. That's the answer.

Respondent 21: Do you think that the newspaper is intimidated by those parties?

Interviewer: Ya, I really honestly do. Absolutely, without a doubt. For example, I phone, "Hello, I've got an article, can you please put it in for me?" "Ya, we'll put it in." You know what, me, I understand. I've been here a long time, I understand. He phones and he hasn't even finished his sentence and it's already going in electronically.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is?

Respondent 21: Because of the man. When I first met him, I thought where is this guy from? "You know, I've always been with you and you guys are great people and we'll do Fourways. You're the people I need." And then you realise, divide and conquer, he likes to play that game. He will try to split us.

I think they [the paper] are very scared of him, very scared of him. I think they are not scared of the ward councillor, but they know the ward councillor, so the other will sit here with the remote. The ward councillor is the car, residents association is the car, all of these guys, all the politicians are the cars, the name throwers, Mayor, this one, are the cars. So, somebody who goes into the paper with glasses on, you must know, that person is either bullied when he was small, he's got the size, he's got the look and he talks the talk.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 21: Never read them.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 21: Yes, "what do you think?" Yes, I always read that. Always. I do it on electronic when it concerns me. In copy that interests me. For example, "What do you think of this versus that? I thought goodness, I'm not even a member. But it's good, it's 100 percent.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 21: No, I think that the reporting is very good, very accurate, I think what you should do, I think what you guys need to do is work very closely with the local radio station. Have to. Very, very close to them. That's your market. You guys catch the same thing.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 21: I don't like crime stories. When it is around here, yes. Like, when there was the story here at the shopping centre. I had a go at them, because I saw it and I said, "You're in this newspaper every week, claiming glory. Now here's a real story what you going to do now. Now these guys have been suspended you say here, for 'allegedly' committing this crime.

Question one, are you blind? Did you watch the video because there is your evidence there." So, for example, where is the follow-up? Why, nobody's talking?

It was the same as the story on a bouncer. You know why, because she [my daughter] used to go there. I even got in my car and went there and said to the owner, now, what's this, if nobody will do it, I will do it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 21: They, well look I have a very good relationship with everyone at the *Fourways Review*. The only person who I don't think I have had a relationship with is the group editor. She's the only one. The rest, all of them.

I don't need to read any other newspaper, I get enough from here. It's all what I want to know. I carries what I want to hear. I want to know what others are doing and what I am doing, not necessarily the same, but what are you doing for the community, I get involved.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 21: No, I think the journalists are fine, except for the one I told you about. They are always friendly. The only time they don't take my call is when I know that they are in a corner. There's too much action here and they don't know what to tell me because I'm now pressing, but I understand that and it comes back to what I am saying. It's that outside influence that's very bullish, very competitive, very bombastic.

I think in the beginning it was working well. The digital editor said, he said that, what do you say, and we verified the story, and as we went, it faded and I think maybe because it was getting too involved, and I think their approach, their marketing, you know is in the game, she knows how to throw that social media, and I can see, she's quick on her thing and it's ding, ding, ding because I get noise here at every minute.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 21: The articles in the *Fourways Review* are much better than the ones in the Randburg one and the Sandton one, because I see both of them. For me, I don't know what it is, maybe it is because I am more interested in the

Fourways one, maybe it is because I am, it's more close to home for me and that's why I am more focused on it. You know, what is he putting in, you know, what's the latest here. Although there is Facebook here so I do know.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 21: I think it solves all that [watchdog and solves problems]. So, if you're the type of person, you want to know what to go and eat, it solves that. If you're the type of person that wants to know what are the politicians doing and what's the latest action in there, you'll find that in there too, for you as a person. So, it's got something for everyone. Ya, so you've got these things [animals] as well. But, the Lonehill community is an older community and there will be something in there. The townhouses is a younger community and there will also be something in there for them, you know. This side, closer to Douglasdale Police Station is where the action is. We will look there.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 21: Movies. What they could do is get involved with all the sporting events in Fourways, for example, school and club. For example Dainfern Lions, a scoreboard every week, you know, the U11 played this week and this is the score, you know, so there's a community thing. I think you could do that.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations when you have approached them to publish a story for you?

Respondent 21: Look, because I understand what goes on, I am always happy. There has been times where I send an article and I wait, and I wait and I wait and then I start putting pressure and still nothing and then I sit and say why? And then I sit back and think something's happening. For example, we did a whole article here with one journalist, myself and two others and it was the same week that the judgement came out. I was just too late to put mine in, and

then the ruling came out and I sent the journalist a message and she said no, we can't publish because of the ruling and then I said I understand. No problem. I might come across as rude, arrogant. But I will not do anything that is not right. If it's not legal then don't do it. It's not the way I work. But no, generally the guys have been cool. My last Dainfern Lion pre-this one didn't go in, I don't know why, maybe because she was cross. But anyway, she put my prize giving in and I am glad that went in with the insurance company.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 21: I've voiced it to the journalists and then I've left it. There's reasons. There's nothing that the guys wouldn't do for me if there wasn't a reason. You know, I know what I am like, hot blooded, so I leave it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 21: You know, very, very easy. You know, I don't have time to sit on the phone and talk. So, my relationships with them is that I will sit late at night and type and I will send the thing. You know, I have spoken to one of the journalists at two o'clock in the morning on WhatsApp. "Don't forget my story." She replies, "I won't." At two o'clock on a Sunday morning!

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 21: Yes, yes, it's very easy, user-friendly.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 21: Absolutely.

RESPONDENT 22

Interviewer: How long have you worked in the Fourways area suburb?

Respondent 22: Nine or 10 years ago. We had Fourways Gardens, Paulshof which we closed and re-opened. So it has been quite some times.

Interviewer: How long is your commutes to the Fourways area?

Respondent 22: Usually 20 to 25 minutes, but that's driving fast.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 22: I do two things, I teach the police how to behave, and that is also where I have had a lot of coverage from the *Fourways Review* because I trained Douglasdale police. My best work, in my opinion, is to train the police on how to behave themselves, and to encourage the community to make a choice to work with them. Because, some people can do my domestic watch work, like Sun Valley does, they take the material from me, they sit on a meeting when they feel like they want to. It is a challenge to get the community to support you on an ongoing basis. You do need the support of the residents associations, ward councillors, you've got to be in their faces. The articles that *Fourways Review* writes, you know, the constant drip-drip of being in their faces has brought more and more people to the table to say we want her. I have a wish list, and that would be to have weekend workshops to educate employers. I was shocked by some of the responses when I did the last lesson which is making matters worse or better. It was just over the period that I had been strangled, and I said it is important for domestics to have a good relationship with their employers and did that "untumble" a whole lot of stuff and in fact there was one domestic who said, Penny please, get the Department of Labour to come and talk to us so that we know our rights.

There is a misconception that there is a quick fix to the crime situation, there isn't a quick fix, it's a drip-drip ongoing, in people's faces.

You have to go where you have enough people who believe that it is important to play such an important part in our community. *Fourways Review* covers incredible stuff, you bring good news, bad news, you put people on the map, you tell people what is out there, and that's amazing.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 22: Absolutely, or other. Anything that relates to death. Like this month, we are covering emergencies. We did TB in the past. We did HIV, which I thought it was so boring but it was a riveting experience. It was just amazing.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website? Do you use the content of the paper and website together?

Respondent 22: I occasionally read the websites. Sometimes I get a clever person who says, why don't you just put in the headline and find it on the website.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 22: I can't wait for it to arrive. I go to the Caxton office to go and fetch them. I need to be abreast of what's going on, so I can't wait to read them.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 22: I always read the crime, and that is always on the inside page here, but I think things like your schools, my brother is very involved with horses, clinics are very important to me because I have to be the sponge that absorbs and then passes on the information to domestic workers, and I am always interested in what the editor has to say, and I didn't realise that was out *she points to a story on the domestic watch programme in Paulshof*. It is so

important for the domestic workers' to be in the paper, I really don't want my face to be shown the whole time. I love it, look how they are all smiling.

I love ballet, but I am not mad about sports. And with the kids in the house, it's school, school, school all the time, so I don't read much of that but the kids bring them to me and discuss them with me, but I don't look too much at that. I certainly look at your inserts and I think the adverts are, you are certainly doing them a big favour, that's for sure. I don't really read the smalls or the property because I have no need for that.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 22: At one stage, the papers had a 'What's on', a diary section and I think that's missing, I think it's a good thing. I remember, before my best friend was murdered, she'd arrive, she'd have cut out the paper and she had highlighted and would tell me what events were would attend. I think a lot of the community like that, to know what is going on in the community. I think that is a good thing.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 22: No.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 22: Absolutely, I find them absolutely fascinating.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 22: No. Too busy.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 22: I think there is always a slip between the cup and the lip. But it is so minor that it is inconsequential. We did have an unfortunate set-up, where the victim supporters were advertising, as you opened the paper there was a little article. But they were saying the forum was looking for whatever, and then the next week again, and then some person, mentioned their name, not mine, and said “our unit” and “we will be presenting on”, and “it’s free to everyone in the whole world”. It caused untold grief. I mean, it was like a wild fire.

These things happen, fortunately it was not me, but the reflection was on me.

Interviewer: How could the journalists have handled it better?

Respondent 22: I think she just thought she was doing the right thing. I think that she is young and doesn’t know any better and I don’t think that she did her homework properly. But there is a perception by this particular organisation that they own me, and they call it their domestic watch, which it isn’t. You know if you look at my sponsorship list, it is just endless. Everything that is given to me, it is considered to be a sponsor.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 22: A need to know. I absolutely need to know what’s going on in my community, and I don’t think I am alone in that. I can drive down here to get onto Sandton Drive, and I get, “I saw you in the newspaper”. I mean, wherever you go, everyone is reading the newspapers. Everyone is sitting there, I watch them, I am fascinated by it.

Interviewer: What do you think is the most important part of the community newspapers?

Respondent 22: Once again, it is an awareness thing. Because it is so localised, I don't buy newspapers. I don't buy The Star, I don't even buy the Sunday newspapers. I want to know local stuff. I hear enough on the news. I don't want to read about Oscar Pistorius and the ANC. I don't have time for that, but I must know a lot of the community. Look, I think there are a hell of a lot of people who like to buy the newspapers daily, but it is not for me.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 22: A hundred percent [fulfils expectations]. Whoever is doing your photographs is definitely great. You are definitely fulfilling, you are bringing such awareness, you are making people feel important, and if they are doing something great. I mean, I look at the SPCA, and I can cry, because I have seven dogs, so I am an animal freak. But I have met someone who is a relative who is very committed to the SPCA and I think that you are helping them too. I mean, anyone who is doing anything good, getting it out there is very important because the community need to know there is some good out there, and most the time we are reading the crime, crime, crime.

Interviewer: Do you think the newspaper balances the bad and the good out?

Respondent 22: Yes. I do.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 22: No, just I think that diary section is good. I think that's, you know all of this stuff [neighbourhood section] is all very good stuff, like this story here, "Dispose of your electronic waste" that is good, people need to know that. Here's a 'What's on', baking lessons, I love that! I think it's doing a fantastic job.

Interviewer: What are your best parts of the newspaper?

Respondent 22: Well, I am a crime freak.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 22: No, nothing at all.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 22: Yes.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 22: I think you are only as good as the good people that you are in contact with to put it forward. When I was with Caxton the one day, I don't recall who it was, but someone said to me, Penny, please won't you send us your opinions, won't you write us something and we'll print it. I am always very flattered when they print something that I have said. But I think it's, if you don't know about it, I think there are times that I would encourage people to call the paper to make people aware of it.

Interviewer: Is that to raise issues?

Respondent 22: Yes. Whether it is. Certainly the negatives. If there is an issue, we need it to be brought out, we need to know about it.

Interviewer: In encouraging someone to contact the newspaper about a problem, what would you hope to get out of it?

Respondent 22: How do you put a stop to the rubbish that's going on, if it's not put in your face? You know, it's got to be there in your face. There was an informal settlement and there was a guy who said, you know we have no idea what circumstances these people are living under. You know, how many shacks burnt down. The community are not aware of what is going on around them. They all live in little boxes. They've all got to be made aware of what's happening.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 22: With 68 lessons, I have an arsenal of information that I have researched, and written about. I think every single lesson has got a different message to impart which is why I am amazed that an employer can say that we will just send our domestic once and that will be enough. So I think the lessons, I mean, Caxton has that one journalist, she is particularly lovely and she is very sweet, very dedicate. Caxton is a breeding ground for exceptional people. I think that you are only as good as the people that you employ and to lose them is a tragedy because when you lose them, it is like losing a police officer. There is no substitute for enthusiasm. Enthusiasm can and will make anything work.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 22: Sometimes.

Interviewer: And can you remember an example of when they didn't?

Respondent 22: Some of them. I mean when I looked at one of the journalists' photographs, I actually have in the portfolio, they are in here somewhere. He took photos of the domestics, charging through with their banners and excitement and I mean, absolutely fantastic. I think sometimes there could be more detail. I tend to be long-winded anyway, so, but I am happy to give anybody within the Caxton group the material and then they can handpick what they want out of it. But the story-telling. There was one lady who came to a meeting and said Penny spent the whole lesson talking about her story, which wasn't true. My first lesson with everyone is to tell mine and Sandy's stories. There is a lesson within the story. My story, with my strangulation, what is the story in that? The gardener hated me.

But the journalist only arrived halfway through the lesson, but she didn't quite get the just of it. Which is understandable.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do? (Take your story to another publication, approach someone in a higher position in the company, write a letter to the paper?)

Respondent 22: No, no I didn't because, you know, when the milk is spilt, you leave it. There is not much point, but she did me a huge favour because she put me onto a Whatsapp group in the area which was very good.

Interviewer: How accessible do you find *Fourways Review's* team, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 22: We haven't had a lot in *Fourways Review*. I was pleasantly surprised to see this *points to the article in *Fourways Review**. This journalist, she is in nappies still but this is good. We've had a couple of times where they have said they will be there and then they've said, no can do. But what I can tell you is there is an enormous amount of curtesy, because I always get the call or an email to say, I am going to be there. And that's very much appreciated. The point is that I can then pass it onto the residents' association, who are supporting me, especially the Paulshof one, and they can say, wow Pen, fantastic! For Sun Valley, I do everything for them, but what *Fourways Review* is doing for them is enabling them to maintain their numbers and that is great.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 22: Absolutely, love it.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 22: It highlights both good and bad, and I think the good is just as important as the bad, if not, more important. And I am often so pleasantly surprised, like I am today, [to see the domestic watch in the paper]. I'm thrilled.

How's this, "Leeuwkop inmates graduate", *points to a headline*, my word. That's amazing. I will say to Monty [a friend], go and get your copy of *Fourways Review*. I always tell people to go and get their copies.

RESPONDENT 23

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 23: Cedar Lakes, Fourways.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 23: I do.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 23: It is six times a week, and it's to Kyalami and back. Twice a week to Eagle Canyon and back. So 20 minutes [at a time].

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 23: I am, I'm involved in this estate. I am on the sports committee with the soccer that has come into it, because I have done that once before and it was a horror story.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 23: I think it is really important, and maybe I am a bit guilty of not being more involved. I do rely on reading the *Review* to keep me up to date.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 23: I'm very much a TV-nut, I watch a lot of TV news and sport. I read a little, and if it's not a soccer training guide, it's the *Fourways Review*. I don't read the Sunday Times or nothing.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 23: Because it is a community newspaper, because it gives me an up-to-date picture of what's going on in the area. It does satisfy what I'm interested in. It gives me a little on the crime side and a review on the sports, and it breaks my heart to see all of the stray dogs and cats, and I try to skip that part sometimes but I just can't, you know I am a dog freak, and advertising is quite powerful, I must say. In as much as people might hate all of these inserts, I read them. I prefer to support local stores than I would to travel 20km to save a discount.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 23: Every week.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper?

Respondent 23: Sports first, then everything else. I do read a lot on the property side, because I do have a small residential portfolio. One of them is in Paulshof, so I am always looking there to see, and I am always looking to see if there's a bargain, I might want to invest for my kids.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 23: No, I don't. Unless something hits me in the face, I don't notice it, but I will read the smaller articles.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 23: Yes, this does attract to what it is about. It may not be something that I am always interested in, but because it's a front page thing, I see it as part of the news and I will turn to it, even if I don't really agree with it or like it.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 23: I don't read the letters to the editor. It is not a section of the newspaper that really interests me. It's not something that is in me. I don't read the classifieds and I don't read the car section.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 23: The entertainment side, I think something a bit more prominent, because I tell you something that I think is lacking, not only in my age group, is that you go to a shopping centre, and you don't always know what's going on there. There may be a nice dinner and dance there, or they may be a nice Jazz day. I think that would be nice, because I enjoy that sort of thing. Especially for my wife and I, because except for a shopping centre, we don't really know what's going on.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 23: I'm not on Facebook, I'm not on Twitter. I'm just not one of those guys. If I am looking for something, I go onto the website for sure. But I don't get involved in that.

Interviewer: And have you ever written a letter to the editor?

Respondent 23: No. I haven't but you've made me think of something because often I read about something and I want to make a comment on it and I just don't but it's not right.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 23: Yes I do, because an article is only so long, and you can't always get what you want in there, and so I think it is good to refer you.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 23: I am yet to read through something and get half way and leave it and say, no, this is rubbish, and move onto a different article, so I think the reporting is fine.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 23: Up-to-date information about what is going on now, because I know that every week it changes, and also to just keep me informed about what is going on in the area, including, and this has become a big issue, and luckily we live in an estate where it's not really an issue, but I have thought about it, it's just that the time is not right, but is getting involved in security issues, residents' associations to track the guys at night or to watch to see the traffic lights and to make sure they don't knock them over and steal the cabling, something to that effect. I think maybe, particularly this robot story is a big problem, I think somehow, getting the community involved and somehow trying to get cameras installed or something on the traffic lights to try to catch the guys stealing the cables which are costing the tax payers millions.

Interviewer: Describe what characteristics you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 23: The characteristics fit in, in terms of my profile of who I am and what I want to read about in the local community.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 23: I would give it nine out of 10. The entertainment thing [is missing].

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 23: Definitely. What I also like about it is not a tedious paper where you have to read 100 pages to get what you need. That's why I joked earlier about the adverts, because there are more inserts of adverts than articles, but I love that because I just want to read specific stuff, what I like about the articles is that they are short and accurate, maybe I just don't have the concentration but I don't want to read reams and reams of stuff, when the message can be put together in six paragraphs.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 23: I am chuffed with what I've got, so no.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 23: I've never thought of that. I don't know if this is valid, but if you don't like advertising, you are going to read the top part and ignore the bottom. I would have thought that you would put a bit of advertising at the top, the articles in the middle and then again advertising at the bottom so that you can't ignore the whole page. That is the only thing I would comment on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 23: It doesn't have any opposition, as I understand it, it has no opposition. And that's why it is so essential that the reporting is accurate. We've got nothing to compare it to, it's definitely doing the job. But you would only know if it was doing a bad or good job, if there was some opposition.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog or a problem solver?

Respondent 23: I'd say a bit of both, because what it does do is tell us what we need to look out for, especially on the crime side, and it also, what I do like about the articles, as much as they are horrific, but it does tell you about what is happening, whether you like hearing about it or not. And brings you to some intersections which are high hijack areas, which, without it, you wouldn't know.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 23: From my own point of view, because of the power of the newspaper, I know that I will get an accurate bit of exposure, and, this might sound corny, but I've yet to meet someone at Caxton who isn't helpful, amenable to a meeting, they've all been super. It ranks high from that point of view.

Interviewer: To what extent did the newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 23: Very much so. When we did the one in Kyalami, we got about seven new [soccer] members. Which may, or may not sound a lot, but you're getting seven referrals through an article, that's fantastic. You do a mail-drop, and you are likely to get a three percent response, and of the three percent you might not secure actual memberships. It [*Fourways Review*] definitely gives mileage to my sort of things.

Interviewer: If you were to have a problem with the City, would it be in your process to contact the *Fourways Review* or would you contact the City.

Respondent 23: No, I would contact the City first, instead of going through the paper, because I think that would be quicker.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 23: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 23: I've yet to find one instance that I have not had a phone call returned. I think I have the Fourways number on my phone. So yes, it's easy.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 23: Without a doubt.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 23: Ya, it's personal and it's close to me and my lifestyle and what I have to, with soccer on a Saturday morning and someone would say, oh, did you see that such and such Brazilian football is opened up down the road, and it creates conversation amongst us with the market that I'm in. I like to know what's going on. It's a conversation topic.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 23: The knowledge that I now get an up-to-date picture of what's going on in all spheres of the community.

Interviewer: Why do you think you have those expectations?

Respondent 23: It's a history thing. I've been in the area for 16 years now, and all the time it's become part and parcel of the area information, so it's been a historical thing from day one.

RESPONDENT 24

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

Respondent 24: I have just moved from Douglasdale and have clients in the Fourways area.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 24: I lived there for 12 years

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 24: Yes

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 24: Very Often, we have clients in the area and attend weekly events.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 24: It is extremely important as it assists my clients, my family and of course myself.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 24: Every day. I always follow the *Fourways Review* online as well as other local publications.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 24: Internet & Newspapers

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 24: It assists with new ideas, potential clients. It is also a great news source and helps me to keep up to date with what is going on in my area.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 24: Every week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 24: It really depends on what the features are about.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website?

Respondent 24: Often. I use the website more than the actual hard copy paper.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 24: I read from front to back. I like to focus on entertainment and sports sections as this often assists with our various lifestyle clients.

[Sections are: crime, news, metro news, opinion, community, schools, entertainment and sport.]

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 24: Yes it does. I nearly always turn to the story.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 24: Yes I always take note of them. I will only use them if the story is of interest to any of my clients or myself.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 24: I will never log on if the Newspaper suggest it. I am following the social pages of the Newspaper so I usually read most stories that are posted on the social pages.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 24: If I am near my computer I will go and check the website out but I don't feel that it has been beneficial to me.

Interviewer: How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 24: I believe the *Fourways Review* reports are very strong and accurate.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 24: Knowledge about news and events in and around the Fourways area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 24: I feel that the *Fourways Review* fulfils most of the expectations - they cover the important news and events which is what I like to see in my local paper.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 24: There are a few journalists who don't get back to you and that is something I would like to see change.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the content of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 24: I would focus a little more on the lifestyle events and social images as I do like to see who attends what events and what events are coming up in the area.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 24: I wouldn't change anything - I feel the headings are bold and catches the reader's attention which is good.

Interviewer: What are your best parts of the newspaper?

Respondent 24: The entertainment and sports pages

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 24: The Classifieds sections. They are a bit too long and not very interesting.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 24: I believe they inform the community of the crime in the area as well as the lifestyle and events that take place - This assists the community with their safety which is VERY NB. It also helps them to choose a fun outing to attend with friend and family.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 24: I believe *Fourways Review* does an excellent job at this. I have personally contacted various businesses etc because of what I have read in the paper

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watch dog?

Respondent 24: I do think the paper could be a bit quicker in news reporting - especially when there are criminals that are working in the area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 24: Yes, I have. I have installed security bars in my house - I read an article that the *Fourways Review* posted about a company that put bars into the Douglasdale Police Station, I then contact them and used them for my house and office.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 24: Yes, often.

Interviewer: If so, can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 24: Boxing events, lifestyle, news and events.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news? (For example, to help you solve your problem, raise awareness)?

Respondent 24: To raise awareness.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 24: They are usually very efficient and cover the stories. I have a few experiences where the journalist has not replied.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 24: When the editor passes the story onto the journalists I feel the journalists should make more of an effort to reply and attend interviews that they have set up or RSVP'd for.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 24: Yes. I have invited journalists to events that are catered for and they have not attend. They also have not contacted to cancel.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do? (Take your story to another publication, approach someone in a higher position in the company, write a letter to the paper?)

Respondent 24: I would usually take the story to another publication or I would email the journalist directly (depending on the event/story that was not attended/covered).

Interviewer: Have you ever done this?

Respondent 24: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review*'s team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 24: I have a great relationship with the news editor and she usually covers most of the stories that are sent to her.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 24: The community papers really do show more interest in an event that is in their particular area. Bigger publications are usually covering national events (much bigger events) and do not want to feature small community events/stories.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 24: I work with a few community papers so I don't.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper? (For example, because it is on your doorstep, because you have a genuine interest in local news, etc)

Respondent 24: I read quite a few publications as I work in PR and need to be updated daily on the new and events.

Interviewer: Why do you think you have those expectations? (For example, you have seen other people's problems solved through the newspaper, etc)

Respondent 24: I have fantastic relationships with community papers and I do find that they use our stories and features. This raises awareness for our clients and gets people interested as to what is happening in their area.

RESPONDENT 25

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Sun Valley?

Respondent 25: Nine years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 25: Yes.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 25: I generally work from home and then I go and see clients during the course of the day, so on an average day I would be in my car for about two-and-a-half-hours a day.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 25: I would say enormously involved, as chairman of the residents' association, handled a few of the portfolios.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 25: Vital, specifically because I've needed to guide other members of the committee on what's happening in the area in terms of what the sentiments are, so getting information from residents, City's positions and other NGOs in the area are absolutely vital.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 25: Probably twice a day.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 25: If I had to break it down, probably 70 percent internet, that includes social media as well as online newsletters like *Daily Maverick*. I find *Daily Maverick* specifically quite good to be able to catch up on overnight stuff. I would say about 20 percent would be dailies and then I get the economist, financial mail and occasionally I buy something else and I always get local newspapers.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 25: I look at it every week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 25: I probably scan headlines more than anything else but I would say probably 15 minutes. I generally pick up the paper, scan it and then dispose of it immediately. So there is no second person reading it and there is no referring back to it. If there was any article that I liked, I would scan it and circulate it to people who I needed to.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, is there any particular order that you read it in?

Respondent 25: No, from front to back.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 25: No.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 25: No, I would still go through it [the paper] and the front page stories are often not really what I am looking for, it's not to say, your leader would not be our prime interest.

Interviewer: What are your interests?

Respondent 25: My interest would be the things that affect my community, the things that affect me personally or things that I am interested in.

Interviewer: Are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 25: Well, I'm quite interested in City positions, so from time to time when they give their positions, that's important. It is also important for me to get people's names, who comments and that kind of stuff, for example, when there are notices with rates billing or arrears, those notices, it's really important for me to see who commented and what they said so that I can have a more informed idea of how people should handle it. What's also quite important is that it helps to gravitate, because I might have picked up two or three stories from people who are unhappy of the things that happened, for example the re-assessment of property rates, and then the penny doesn't always drop before you read the article that says many people have complained and the city are doing something about this. Or, something more every day, so that people are saying they are standing in long queues and that the helpline isn't being answered, and then you'd get confirmation about that from the newspaper and that would give you something to work on. So, people's names and confirmation of events.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 25: No.

Interviewer: Do you access the *Fourways Review* website?

Respondent 25: No, I don't directly but there are links that come in via mail or via Facebook so that would then automatically link you through, so I would get to it almost by default, but no, I would never go to the website. I have gone on in

a year, maybe two or three times because I am looking for a story and often that's because I am looking for an archived story some time ago in the *Fourways Review*, so to try to get archive information.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 25: I think they're accurate. They are credible certainly. I understand that most of them are written for casual review, there's no heavy content, which I do understand, it's lighter reading rather than a serious analysis. I think at times it would be nice to have quality editorial, because a lot of the issues are being addressed by the publication on an ongoing basis and I think once in a while it would be nice to see an editorial expressing an opinion. It's very vanilla, it's just getting the story and that's the way it is. But there's not the editorial and that to me is the missing element, and it would be very nice to say *Fourways Review* feel that the fire department should at least after three years resolve their issues with equipment. And they are in a position to make those statements and it is valuable all round.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 25: Information about community events, City positions, probably some stuff about our local councillors and what they're reacting to, and then I think service delivery issues because that's important, and then local sports because in our area equestrian sports are a very big part of our area, our livelihood, our residents and I feel that they are fairly well covered in *Fourways Review* and *Midrand Reporter*.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 25: I would say six or seven out of 10. I think that there's a lot more possibilities of stories. The landscape is changing quite fast so you'd find

that issues to do with CPF and local police or JRA and traffic reporting and those kind of things, I am certainly knowledgeable a lot more important things happening than what I am seeing in the *Fourways Review* so I am not getting the impression that they are on top of every issue. It might be that they [the issues] don't have editorial value or it might be that they've been reported but they're not being published, but I do think there is a lot more possibility of a lot more being reported. It doesn't necessarily need to be a full story. It could be a three line story of deadlines for certain events, calendar for certain things happening, milestones of certain things being reached, the building of certain things such as the water reservoir. It can just be that the construction is started. Maybe because of social media, maybe because of Twitter, maybe because of the way we live today, reading bullet points is sometimes preferable. One does not need to make up a story, but sometimes bullet points are important. I know it's not a traditional way of running a newspaper, but sometimes it could be beneficial.

Interviewer: Describe what role you believe are the most important in a community newspaper in providing local news?

Respondent 25: They [the bullet points] would give you the ability to scan a whole lot of events, say 20 events, and recognise that one or two of them need your attention, as opposed to having to read through an entire newspaper. There would be a value to knowing that the new rates or Eskom tariffs are going to affect the bills from the beginning of January. So, if in a November publication and a December publication there was a bullet point, one would know to look out for that when you looked out for your Eskom bill, as opposed to, you don't need to read the whole article, it would just act as a heads-up. I know it's not a traditional way of reporting in a newspaper but as I have said before we have got used to that [with social media]. You wouldn't do it with national news but you could do it with local news.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 25: I'm comfortable, it reads well, the layout is quite nice, obviously everyone is always unhappy with the number of adverts and inserts, but that's what pays the paper, so.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 25: No, I can't say there is anything that I am unhappy with.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 25: That's hard to answer because it's really article by article, so I would say in general probably only 10 percent of the articles would reflect residents' opinions. Certainly residents' informed opinions would probably be even less, maybe five percent. So, it's hard for me to categorically state that when I read it I get a true reflection of what's going on because many of them are stating a certain number of facts, and those facts aren't necessarily the residents' opinions so I think a lot more can be done in terms of that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 25: Yes, it is a watchdog in the community, so I would rate that a lot higher, I would give it a seven out of 10.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community? To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 25: I don't think we have enough confidence yet to see it as a problem solver. It's not the newspaper's fault, I think it's the resistance from City and council and province to recognise that when people complain the onus is on them to do something about it and I think that there's been a big change in the last couple of years where they have said, let them complain, it's not going to change our opinion, so I'm not putting blame on the publication for that but I do think that there may be a greater need to call out responsible officials to be

called out by the paper to be answerable to the publication for their positions. I'm not getting the sense that people are held to account by the newspaper, so from the one side you are saying that residents are unhappy or the river broke its banks or the roads are in a bad condition but there is very little in terms of saying explain how you spent the roads budget, explain where this money went, so there is very little quality accountability being demanded from City and provincial officials. And, when they do comment, it's generally comment like, "We'll look into it", "I'll find out from my people", "I'll come back to you". If someone says they'll come back to you, ask them to come back to you in a day or two, how long does it take to get back to you? And then, publish their opinion. Even if it says, "The public official said they would get back to us, after two days we got back to them and they had no more information, which leads us to believe that they had no more information." So, I think holding City officials to account is something local newspapers could do a lot more. It also gives the publication a lot more credibility, because it gives you teeth, and I think that's quite nice to have. I just think that it's hard to get them [City officials] to be accountable and it requires a certain level of journalism and it requires a certain level of journalist to be able to do that and to say, I need to write something and if you don't give me a good answer I'm probably going to have to reflect that I was disappointed with your lack of response and I will be asking you to give me a more detailed response in two weeks' time, and then re-publish the article. But, make people understand that they can be severely embarrassed if they don't at least come up with a reasonable story.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 25: Ya.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 25: They've been really just community stories, CPF, crime, environmental issues, our RA [residents' association], roads issues, domestic crime watch, that type of stuff.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 25: Well, they've been quite responsive, very seldom asked to have a journalist present and then they just don't pitch, they do pitch, and generally, we've recognised that we do get better responses when we do a press release. We do get mediocre responses, we don't get the right details when we don't. I have just realised that recently, so it's no good having a journalist sitting in on a domestic crime watch meeting and then getting the right story across, we need to give them a lot more background in order to get the right story.

I would say there's room for improvement. I think that often they don't get to the core or the crux of the issue, so they are happy to put in 10 sentences about it instead of take a position, and I think that it's quite nice for a journalist to take a position in the articles, even if it's two positions, even if it's two positions where it says, the resident said this and this and this, and the other said that, or, "We interviewed a resident who said they want this, but we interviewed the RA and they said they were out of their mind." It's fine. I'm not saying there shouldn't be debate, I'm just saying, get to the crux of the issue.

Interviewer: Why do you think they are not getting to the crux of the issues?

Respondent 25: I think they don't always do enough research. I think that is probably the bottom-line. You know, today with online stuff you can Google and find out quite a bit about it.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 25: Yes I have. I think on a number of occasions we have had a number of one-sided stories, and an example I can give about that is often the way in which an institution would be covered, as if they were the authority in an entire area without necessarily recognising that really they don't have that many members, they don't really speak on behalf of the community and that what they do is not really driven by community requirements. I'm not saying that the article quality is not okay but it's probably giving a slanted idea of different levels of importance. I really very, very seldom read an article on this residents association or that residents association, now between this suburb and that suburb we have 300 or 400 members living in the area, expensive properties and big homes that reflect the core of the population, that own a large amount of land, and the fact that they are not being asked, what is your position on fibre optic, what is your position on wildlife. It's quite neglectful when almost fringe organisations are elevated to the extent where they are made to sound like they are more important than they are. So that would be one criticism.

The other criticism is that I think the fact that not enough onus is placed on our area in the way that development is happening, and I think that's a position that the newspaper should address. The fact that there are probably another thirty shopping centres than what we need, and we're building another seven and some of them are going bankrupt as they're being built. I think it is absolutely vital that the newspaper voices that kind of opinion. Even if they have to get an economist to make comments on it. The fact that they're not criticising the developers who are in for a quick buck to transform land in order to re-sell and make a profit on their development, who have no interest in the area, just take the money and run, and I feel that in our particular area, the newspaper should be taking a position on it and again, hammering that point home. It's a travesty that's happening, and for once, it's not a government problem. Okay, maybe it is the government problem that they are allowing re-zoning where they shouldn't, and maybe there's big question marks on how the re-zoning is getting past them, but at the core of it is really a question of can we not convince the City that more shopping centres are not required in this area? Can we not convince the City that more intersections are required and that they shouldn't be reliant

on developers to supply that infrastructure? This is a blatant everyday reality of what we have to live with and I feel that the newspaper should almost on every publication make that a big issue, because it is important and is at the sake of making a few people rich who, believe me are going to be living overseas anyway, and we are going to be ending up with all of these things, run-down shopping centres, no quality products on the shelves, which we are already seeing, and there's no slow-down, if anything, it's already being accelerated.

I think [articles of] a larger community awareness, to get rid of apathy, instead of saying oh well it's up to someone to raise it, I think it's up to the newspaper to tell residents it's time to stand up and do this, I think they should be promoting an activism among normal residents instead of an apathy and I think that the newspaper should take diverse angles on issues to make residents aware that they have a role to play. In order to be able to put a value on what we have, it's also quite important to have an underlying theme of how unique certain areas are. Especially in this area, the Kyalami area, the fact that we have a rural equestrian centre so close to a built of city area, is unique anywhere in the world and it's of massive value to Johannesburg residents, and I think in every area, even if it's about the derby, that should be an underlying thing, because if we don't value it, in something like the Review, you will probably find that residents don't value it. They probably take it for granted.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 25: Great. I've always had the contact numbers on my cell phone.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 25: Hard to say. I've always had newspapers delivered.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 25: Ya, yes, quite high.

Interviewer: What influences you to read the newspaper?

Respondent 25: I would say the need for local knowledge. It's probably six or seven out of 10, but it could do better.

RESPONDENT 26

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

Respondent 26: Magaliessig.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 26: I am retired unfortunately.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 26: Myself not too much. My wife and I agreed when we moved to Magaliessig that we wouldn't get involved in too many committees. She's on the Magaliessig Action Forum and I'm on the Probus.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 26: Let's face it, under the current climate, yes you do want to know what's going on. There's a WhatsApp group in Magaliessig and we're kept up-to-date all the time, which is very nice and you take necessary precautions if it's needed.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 26: Every day.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 26: Well, I get *The Times* on a daily basis, we get the *Fourways Review* on a weekly basis and we watch the news every evening, my wife and I was a big 702 fan, for one reason, all the people phoning in have one point of view that doesn't concern me, so I am not as big a fan. Early morning 702 yes.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 26: Every week.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 26: Well, the important part about half an hour. They went with property, they had to, but that was a disappointment. And, I am always looking for something about Probus and I never do.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 26: They give them to us, it is delivered. I mean it is a community-based paper. I do like the sporting section. I always look for something from Brescia House or Saints because my grandchildren are at the same schools. In fact I was quite peeved off with the group editor. She sent a journalist up to a school, one of the teachers finished the Comrades in a certain time and got a special medal. They didn't put a photograph in and they put the wrong name. So, I went back to her and said it and said send someone else to take another photo, and that would be a nice touch. She didn't.

Interviewer: How often do you read the news on the *Fourways Review* website? Do you use the content of the paper and website together?

Respondent 26: No, never, I don't manage with websites.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 26: My wife gets it. She throws all the advertising out and then she goes through it and cuts this bit out and that bit out and then I get it and I will start and go through it.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 26: No, I don't follow that. It is invariably some crime thing.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 26: Consciously no. If something really catches my eye then I will.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 26: I look for the sporting section, because they seem to do a lot with the children and I appreciate that. A lot of the social things I don't bother with, like this week there's two pages of photographs of some event and I don't even know what it was.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 26: Yes, old people. Sports, old people. Bowls and Probus.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 26: No.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 26: I've got no problem with it. I don't pick up many errors. It's not worse than the other papers.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 26: Look it's very difficult because it is a weekly, no I don't expect anything. I will pick up *The Times* and say okay, let's see what they said about the rugby or cricket. I don't think the sporting section is that strong and being a weekly it's difficult.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 26: Look it's a community-based paper. It's interesting from the point of the community. It's nice to see them getting involved in the animal stories, the FreeMes, this is community stuff. I just feel it lacks in the old-people section, but say in the kids, to teens to young mothers and young families, that's fine.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 26: No problem.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 26: Ya, property. But I suppose they had to, it's where the money is.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 26: Which section of the community? The whole community, no I see it is very difficult. The youth, the kids, sport, yes, I see a lot of that in there

and it makes people aware. I think it is very difficult [to have the whole community]. I just don't see it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 26: I don't think so, no. I know some of the bigger papers think that they have some mega powers and spend their lives telling you what they did and didn't do. I think they [*Fourways Review*] is restricted, you know being a weekly. If I came to them with a problem and they came back a week later, whether they've solved it or not is another story, I wouldn't see the paper as an avenue to solving problems. I think with the police they do a good job. I think the crime aspect, I think people feed them plenty of that.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 26: Yes.

Interviewer: What role did you expect the community newspaper to fulfil in publicising your news?

Respondent 26: Publicity. To tell the people I am concerned about them. To tell the old people and get some news across to them. They do respond, that I have been impressed with. If I put my phone number in, invariably someone will phone and say, tell me what this is all about.

Interviewer: To what extent did the journalists and newspaper fulfil your expectations?

Respondent 26: Well, it's not usually a conversation, it's usually just an email going through with some information. I will give a journalist a photograph with a story and she will come back and say I have handed it on to XYZ because I am not in that department anymore and it dies. I don't hear any more. I page the paper every week. Thank God we don't pay for the paper.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 26: Even though you don't get anything published even though you send it to them. I mean they say they are trying but invariably there is a reason, there wasn't enough space or it wasn't interesting enough or whatever. But nobody comes back to say sorry we can't use that. No, there's no feedback.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 26: I never talk to anyone, it's always via email. I don't have any phone numbers.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 26: I don't bother with them as yet. I will have to in the future. Yes, obviously it is.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 26: Ya, it's our community paper.

RESPONDENT 27

Interviewer: Which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

Respondent 27: Beaulieu

Interviewer: How long have you lived in this suburb?

Respondent 27: Six years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 27: Yes, from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 27: I think I am very involved. I am on the board of Beaulieu and I'm doing the initiative with Gekco on the RSDF.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 27: I think it's hugely important and I think there is a lot of apathy in the area. You know, I think a lot of people don't want their names exposed or they don't want to belong to associations but everybody I know, reads the newspaper, so you know I think that it's hugely important that we have something which shows what's happening in the area, ya, so I find it hugely important to find out what is happening within our area and within other areas.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 27: I'm a news junkie.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 27: On the internet mostly and we get two papers delivered every morning, so over breakfast, and then of course the Caxton on a Wednesday, so ya, mostly the internet. All day, I am getting news snippets over the internet; and very little TV, I must tell you.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 27: Because it is the only newspaper that gives me information about the surrounding area in Fourways and Lonehill. I suppose that my interest is also that I have properties in Fourways, Bryanston and Lonehill so I want to know what is going on.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 27: Every week. But I have to tell you that I take that big wad of advertising and I just chuck it for my dog's box.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 27: Front to back.

Interviewer: How familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, are there any sections you always read?

Respondent 27: Well, because it's very topical, I like to read the second page, which has the crime and what's happening with certain initiatives, and then I'm interested in the *Leisure Options* and then I am quite interested in what riding is going on in the area and they usually cover that on their back page, so that kind of covers my interest quite well.

Interviewer: Are there some sections you never read?

Respondent 27: No, not really because I even look at the property section, even though I am not looking at buying more property, I will look at the property side just to keep up with rental rates and that. Maybe the motoring section, I'm not particularly interested in motoring.

Interviewer: What content do you believe is missing from the newspaper?

Respondent 27: I really think it should be the voice for the latest trends in committees and suburbs and what people's concerns are. I think that what might be interesting and what might expose a lot is a section where councillors can say what's going on in council, because the only time that we find out what is happening there is when there is a problem or when we have to bring it up rather than the councillors bringing it up.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 27: I find that that front page often just grabs me and then I go to that article. I find it quite relevant.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 27: No, so I go from front to back so I am going to get it anyway, so I don't really.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 27: I'm not on Twitter but also, I don't go onto Facebook pages, because you've always got to be a friend of that sight and then you end up getting all the rubbish. I don't do that either. I would probably just go to Caxton's private page. I wouldn't go to any of the others because I really just don't want junk.

Interviewer: Have you ever done that?

Respondent 27: No.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 27: No, I've never done that, never, but that's what I would do if I was feeling strongly about something.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 27: I think some of it is really good and some of it is a bit PC, which irritates me because I do want to get to the nitty gritty and I do want to

find out what is going on, but I do find it perhaps careful, which I suppose it has to be.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 27: I think, things that are affecting the local community, that's what I expect to read. The meaty issues, rather than picking them up on page five of The Star, I expect the community paper to expose that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 27: Maybe that's the problem, there are no exposes. For example, we've got lots of things happening in our area which really, you know, should be exposed for what they are, you know, our wetlands being destroyed and I don't just find that there are exposes being reported or even in-depth reporting. You know, even with what we are doing now for the RSDF, you know I had a meeting yesterday with one journalist on all the survey results, and she decided she just wanted to address just roads and developments, but you know a lot of what came out of that was related to what the area's used for primarily. A lot came out of people walking and walking dogs from out of the area, so that kind of impacts the surrounding area and that's a really important thing that needs to get out there somehow, because everybody who lives there thinks oh, it's just the people who live there and the horses there. So, there are a lot more angles which I find, just don't get picked up [by the newspaper].

I know for example on a development, we've tried to get it exposed, but the property developers has developed and there's a community of people who lived on that farm who've been treated very shabbily and in fact the property developers have developed around them and tried to bury them in building ground, bury their little spaces where they are living, and that's a huge thing that should get out there, and they've lived on that property for 25 years and property developers have just said, well, 'stuff you, I've bought the land, you

must speak to the previous owner', and that's not what the law says and those things are not being exposed.

I think it's [*Fourways Review's* content] very nice and it's quite PC most of the time, except for the crime where it is quite hard-hitting, but I think that there are a lot of things that are happening which are not [being reported as] hard-hitting enough, it's not what's going on.

The other thing is that we have a lot of apathetic people, Kyalami, Lonehill. Everybody's apathetic, everybody's too busy so they really want those quick snatches of information which I think the newspaper is good for, but if it was hard-hitting maybe it would encourage the community to be more participative of what's going on.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 27: Well no, I'm happy that it's a tabloid, I think that's perfect, I know, and people have said this to me, you know when you take out that wad of advertising, there is very little left, and I don't know how big the staff is for reporting but I am sure there is a lot more that is going on than what is in the paper, and I think the editing is fine, not like in the larger papers where there are typos and spelling errors, I haven't really picked that up too much. I know that it's subsidised by the advertising, so I understand that, but I think there could just be a lot more, and I think people would appreciate that, and I am talking about the people who can afford a paper and the people who can't afford a paper. I know with my staff, when I pick up a paper for myself, I pick up a paper for them too because they want to know what's going on too, and maybe we also don't reflect enough of that either, you know. People who can't afford a newspaper, you know, what's going on in their lives.

Interviewer: What do you like about the paper and what are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 27: I like the fact that my hands don't get dirty when I read it, that's a big thing, and in a way I do like the fact that it can be quite quick to go through, which negates what I just said about having a lot more articles to go through. And they're quite quick, they're not broken up, which annoys me in most newspapers and magazines. What I do enjoy is to send SMSes and you might win some jewellery or something like that, I think that could be a really great charity forum, so, you could have maybe a list of charities that are beneficiaries and a list of stores that donate like jewellery or books and just have a section and if you dialled a number with your name and email address, you would stand a chance of winning. I think those are hugely successful in magazines, so why don't they think of that and then that also becomes a catchy thing, certainly for kids, so parents will read, even if the kids just do that. So competitions.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 27: Well, I don't know because I am not really on the ground in Fourways. I lived in Lonehill for years. I think it's a really valuable tool, you know I know we did like the way we did get some of that exposure, so I think it is good from that view, I just think there could be more. I think like one journalist and I are talking now about the RSDF process but I don't know if she goes to have regular meetings about the wetlands. Maybe they don't have enough staff or do they meet with residents' association meetings to see if there is anything meaty which they could get exposed with. You know, now I heard Cluny Farm do a lot of natural stuff, you know, out in our area, but I don't know that it is enough. It [*Fourways Review*] is reflective, but I don't know that it is reflective enough of this larger area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 27: No, I don't see it [as a watchdog]. I see it merely as people reporting when they need exposure so they will contact the paper rather than the paper going out and finding stuff. I may be wrong, it may be an editing

problem or a cost problem and they do find out all of these things but it just doesn't reflect in the newspaper.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 27: To raise awareness. Big time. I think that's very important, and I think it does that to a certain extent, but those are the proactive bodies who are contacting the newspaper and saying we need to have this exposed, whereas I am sure there are a lot more bodies who would love to get exposed or would love a lot more exposure and just don't know how to go about it. Those reporters should be going out. I think in a way it is a small voice but I think it could be huge.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 27: It should be. You know, there was a, and in the UK they have had it a lot with one journalist, you know you would phone up and she was like a bulldog and she would go after issues and expose them, and in fact at this meeting that I was at now I was just saying, you know, how do we, particularly with these farm workers, how do we expose it. I've contacted some media houses but they won't touch it because the developers are big advertisers or because they said it was only a local issue, which was very disappointing, or they said they would expose it if somebody had taken it to court. So what do you do, bit stuck. I must admit, I also never thought of going to Caxton to say, would you do an expose on this because I know that the developers are also advertisers with them, so we kind of thought, well, what do you do, and these poor guys are living in hell and it's been like that for months. I wouldn't have thought of going to Caxton for exposing something that's really big, and maybe we should. And I don't know if Caxton has investigative journalists or just journalists, reporters, so I think that would be fabulous if they could, even if they hired freelance investigative reporters and there are a lot of freelance reporters

around who I am sure would love to because it is a way of them getting their names out there. I think that's a bit of an angle that's missing in the paper.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 27: Ya.

Interviewer: If so, can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 27: Fabulous. In fact, when, for the first story that one journalist did, we sat at my laptop and did it, just because we wanted to get it out quickly and then I just edited and said ya, I'm fine with that and when it did come out, it was fine. So, I think she did grab the essence of that and I know another person's been very happy too although a lot of the stuff has been PC, it's fine, you know, it's fine. There is no investigative reporting, it is just recording and I think it's really great that the reporters do come to the public meetings so I think the reporters are great. I just think they could go the step further.

Interviewer: How could your expectations have been fulfilled better to serve your purpose?

Respondent 27: Ya, just picking up on the meaty stuff.

Interviewer: Has there been a time where you have been dissatisfied with the journalists or newspaper, and can you describe why?

Respondent 27: Oh, I get really fed up when I'm at the Beaulieu gate and they've all gone.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 27: Ya, no great, and I am not too sure if it is that she has built up a fabulous relationship with them but their responsiveness has been great and

in fact I was so impressed because you know I told her, I think the survey went out in July, quite a while back and you know she kept in touch and she said, 'Are the results out yet?' So that was really professional. And in fact her timing was perfect, because she contacted me and the results came out on Monday.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 27: I would because I think they kind of let out that they are a community paper and they are interested in what's going on in the local community, whereas if I contacted The Star or something they would say, oh Kyalami, that's in the country.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 27: Oh yeah. For sure, I think it's definitely community-owned. I definitely get that impression. I hope other people do too.

RESPONDENT 28

Interviewer: Please state your name and which suburb in *Fourways Review's* distribution area you live in?

Respondent 28: Fourways Gardens.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 28: Lonehill.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 28: About half an hour.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 28: Fairly. Fourways not as much as Lonehill because it's a business initiative.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 28: I think very important, I think on a scale of one to 10 probably seven.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 28: Daily.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 28: Digital. Online, Facebook mostly.

Interviewer: Do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 28: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 28: Probably to see what's happening generally in the area, events, it's a good source for events and advertising most definitely. I don't think I do any in-depth reading of it but I definitely do a, let's see what's happening, what's on, and it's especially nice with the kids.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in

Respondent 28: I always read it from back to front because I am a sporty person so I like to start with the sport so I go back page, inside back and then I flip to the front. I pull out the content on the inside, read it and then go back to the advertising and the 'What's on'.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 28: Pretty much every week. The only criticism I would have on the paper in a place like Fourways Gardens is that just too many are delivered. I'm not sure why but I think they assign at least five per household. I understand that domestic workers really like it so I think all the domestic staff and the home owners get it and so for days on end they are just stacked in the delivery room. And how long they take to pick it up again I don't know but there are just too many of them.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 28: 10 minutes at the most. If I know we've been featured then I will look a bit more. I see most of the content on Facebook first but a lot of the really important stuff I see a day before or two days before.

Interviewer: Do you read the website?

Respondent 28: No, on Facebook and if it's relevant or interesting to me then obviously I will click through.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. Do you ever do this?

Respondent 28: Never.

Interviewer: Is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 28: I would say I seldom read the classifieds because they are completely irrelevant to me. I don't really look for service providers. I have a list in my estate. I never look for homes in there. I like the entertainment section in there, that's where I would probably spend most of my time.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 28: You see, I can't comment on what other people. I've seen what we've given to be published and what has come out is that we didn't say that and so how did you get the name wrong and how did you get the facts wrong when we gave it to you in context. That was for *Think Community*. But then the piece we did for cycling, I gave her all the details and the background and I don't expect her to know anything about cycling but I think as a journalist you should have a basic knowledge of what goes on in the world and at the end of it she asked many questions, which is fine but then she said to me, so, which corporate team won the Tour de France? I was like do you know what the Tour de France is? And I said can I please see this article before it goes to be published and she said no, and I was worried. But it was actually very accurate and well written. I warned all the partners up front that I don't know what's going to come out, but it was fine.

Interviewer: In the case that you are dissatisfied with the journalists or with how the newspaper's team handled a story, what would you do?

Respondent 28: No, I think maybe because it's not a life and death wrong of the guy that feeds the bunnies, well, he might have been really upset, but as a business, is it a life and death situation that the name is wrong, well not really. If it was affecting my brand and affecting my business then maybe I would have come back and said something but because it wasn't I didn't think it was worthy of jumping up and down.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 28: I think it's pretty well balanced in terms of content. It's never aligned to provincial government or national government. It's very apolitical which is a good thing. I think the content is well balanced in terms of the market that they're trying to service. I don't think there's anything really lacking.

Interviewer: If you could make a change to the design or editing of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 28: I think we're in the age of pictures, that pictures speak a thousand words and if you don't have time to read, you can still get the info from the photo, you know a picture with copy on it and pictures will catch your eye and I think they could probably do with more pictures.

Interviewer: To what extent you believe community newspaper *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you think the local newspaper should play in the community?

Respondent 28: Probably I think it does a seven out of 10 but I think there could be more relevance but it's difficult with the timing. You know, we already know about the news by Sunday and it's only going into the paper then. So I think it does fulfil the role but there could always be more relevant content, there could always be more current content.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 28: Yes, I think there could definitely be greater coverage of town planning. I know we always as a school are on their case about that road. I think potentially as a publication that could assist with getting information out about things that we, the general public can't access in terms of planning. Like a shopping centre, what's happening at a shopping centre, things like that actually need to be told to the public instead of waiting around for things to happen.

Interviewer: What are your worst attributes of the newspaper?

Respondent 28: Probably because I have seen the reporting from the inside, a bit of inaccuracy, I think it's really good to follow up on what's happened, like this week has been a major news week and the next week, you don't hear anything and it's like, hang on a sec, why didn't you tell everyone what's happened. So it's like everyone is interested and then a week or two later

nobody cares. People do care but the newspaper isn't feeding out the information. You know the team wants the newspaper to be the community's source of information instead of going looking somewhere else for information so maybe those stories that you've reported on to actually do those that are big stories, follow-ups on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 28: I don't think sufficiently. You know there's few interviews of what do you think of that. I think a Joe Soap Guest Blog would almost be more relevant. Obviously you would have to control that but you would really have to get into, and maybe even getting someone an opportunity to write an article as a development thing, like really exploring and trying to find journalists or reporters or somebody with writing talent, to actually engage the community in a writing competition or something like that that actually aligns with your business but engages others. If you think about the community it is huge, there are so many different kinds of people in it and which part of that community do you actually target, you know in getting the *Fourways Review*, there is Diepsloot and Fourways Gardens. You know, that is such a diverse community, yet the paper is relevant to both. I'm sure that Fourways residents would be interested to know what the development plans are for Diepsloot, you know, nobody knows. What's happening with that property, nobody knows. Unless you are involved in that business, you actually don't get exposed to that.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 28: I think it's difficult because people's attention spans are only 10-lines long so the more you go into detail, the less people will read it. And out of the 100 people that you expect to read it, 10 will read it.

Interviewer: Do you think people want short, sharp information in local news?

Respondent 28: Yes and if they are really interested then a read through, click through for more information. The newspaper really wants to give a broad overview. You don't really want to sit and read, I mean I need my glasses to read the paper so I will just scan through it and when I really want to go and read something I need to go and find my glasses and you know the paper's not great and the light's not great, so you can get the just of the story without your glasses and figure it out. If it's really long, you won't read it and get into it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog, or to what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 28: No, I don't think it's got a watchdog function, I think it's more of a reporting after the fact function. Maybe because they are reporting on what's happened instead of investigating, I think that's more relevant. I mean investigating would be great.

Interviewer: Do you think there is room for more investigative journalism?

Respondent 28: Definitely.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 28: I think fairly accessible, the numbers are in the paper if you need to get hold of somebody or you could Facebook.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 28: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 28: Yes definitely, you know you look forward to that Wednesday of catch-up. It's part of your Wednesday. I know that on a Wednesday the paper

comes. Like this week, I didn't get the paper on Wednesday, it came late so yesterday I was reading it and my husband said to me, "What's today?" and I said, "It's Thursday" and he said, "Well, why are you reading it today?" and I said, "Because I didn't get it yesterday. He also associates the *Fourways Review* with Wednesday, so it's a thing.

RESPONDENT 29

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Fourways area?

Respondent 29: I've lived in the area for about eight years now, but I've been in the area since 1997.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 29: I work from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 29: I've been very involved. I've formed an association which is the Sandspruit Ullman Park to assist the Joburg Parks, City Parks in keeping the area a lot better than they were, people are very keen to tell you what to do, but try to find people who are prepared to put the time in.

You know, I work virtually full-time and I find six years of really working and pushing and pushing, you eventually say, what more can you do?

I went to Sandton Police Station last night for a sector meeting and one of the main reasons was to meet up and discuss the problems along the rivers. The rivers are a major problem with vagrants and criminals and we just get nowhere. Parks, I don't know if they really have the will power or the money.

I have used the local newspaper on a number of occasions to try to highlight the problems along the rivers.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 29: I think it's important from a point of view, there is very little else local news reporting to bring to the local people, so something like the local newspaper is very important. I find people comment on it, read it. I am very positive [about it], I read everything in it, from front to back, except all the advertising. I think that it is very important to keep updating people and I think it is very important to knock them over the head and show them what is happening. People are lethargic and they're very quick to criticise, but very slow to get their hands dirty.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 29: When I get it in the night I will go through each page and read right the way through to the end. It's always interesting to see. The coverage I find is very broad, which I think is right. If you don't have broad coverage, you don't have a broad coverage of the people you're wanting to get. Not everyone wants to know about crime. Not everyone wants to know about the sporting activities. They want to know the various activities, like charities to support and things like young bowler like the young chap from Bryanston. He's come up from nothing. He works at the club, and it shows that with assistance, hey the world's your oyster, and it's great to see that, and it inspires. Recently I had an article in about our club where we had a 99-year-old bowler. That went in and the next day I got a phone call from someone who said they were 94 and said they wanted to come and play bowls. It helps.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in, how familiar are you of the sections of the newspaper, is there any sections you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 29: I think the parts that I'm interested in are the parks and the rivers and what is or what isn't being done. There's very few of the editorials

coming in, that, I wouldn't say are negative, but show the negative problems that we are encountering. This river is beautiful, but you can't use it.

Interviewer: Do you think the paper covers enough of those types of stories?

Respondent 29: I think they do. You know, I don't know if it would help covering it every day, every time, hitting the same thing. I think some people would just say, you know, we've heard so much of that, and it doesn't go in. So, without too much of that, it's doing it. And follow-ups I think are an area where every newspaper could do better. If they run a story, follow-up and say, this is what happened. I think it's important.

Interviewer: To what extent is this drive from the newspaper to the website beneficial to you as a reader?

Respondent 29: I don't use the website.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 29: No, I'm not a social media type of person.

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 29: Yes, naturally you look at that and say, well, what is worthwhile.

Interviewer: Does it make you turn to those pages?

Respondent 29: Yes.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 29: Well, you know it's the old story with the newspaper that we hear so often. I'm so tired of all the negative side important. I think it's important for every newspaper, for people to say, hey, I want to read it, even if it's just a picture and it makes people want to say, hey, I want to read it and it's 20 lines and when they turn to the second page it's the same old. You've got to sell the paper.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 29: I haven't had reason to investigate, to see if what they are saying is correct. I sincerely hope it is.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 29: I expect to see positives. Whether it is positives on the negatives. What is being done? Who is doing something about it, and going out and spending their time. Most of them are doing it in their time, and that's a major problem. In South Africa, people are interested in what's happening around them, their house, their children's schooling, and that's it. You know, so often you pick up the front page and it's terrible, 20 people killed. You then turn to the sport or to the second page, and you've forgotten about it. And thank God we do, because if we were so focused on that one thing, I think it would just get to you and you wouldn't be able to cope. Life is like that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 29: I think when I see it, you know, it was always of interest to me to go to the sports section to see the kids doing well. I think it's very important. I had a grandson who did very well and he was in the paper a few times and it generates enthusiasm, it generates a lot. I think it's very important.

Interviewer: How could the journalists, editors and sub-editors fulfil your expectations of *Fourways Review* better?

Respondent 29: I don't know if I'm qualified to comment on that. I think the main thing is to get editorial, things of interest. And they're doing it.

Interviewer: If you could change anything in the design of the newspaper what would it be?

Respondent 29: No, photographs always attract people. It's definitely part of the attraction. You've got to draw people in. Whether it's a photograph of the river that's looking terrible. It's a drawing point.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 29: I think it can be. It could even be a bigger voice. I know you don't want to appear to be apolitical or to be seen to be packing too many specific [agendas]. I know that on a few occasions when you come up with some stories you get told, now hang on, we're a local paper and we're not like The Star or something like that. Maybe, if you get a lead on something, forget about The Star and just be yourselves and say, hey, if I can uncover something, you know, and it can go from there, do it, don't be afraid to.

Interviewer: Do you think the journalists are sometimes a little afraid to tackle the bigger stories?

Respondent 29: I don't know. Is it the journalists or is it management who have their ways of what to put in the newspaper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as a watchdog?

Respondent 29: I think it is one of the most important parts of it. I think it's doing quite a good job.

Interviewer: To what extent do you look to the newspaper to solve problems? Have you ever done this and to what extent did the newspaper help?

Respondent 29: That's a very difficult one for the newspaper. If you have someone complaining, you've got to know what you're talking about before you open your mouth and put it in the paper. If you go in there without really investigating and researching, you've got to make sure that what you are saying 'because if you go out there without making sure that what you're saying is credible and correct, you leave yourself to a lot of criticism and people will then start saying well, I don't want to read it. So, that's up to the journalist to really understand what their role is. Very important.

Interviewer: Can you give an example or examples of the type of news that you wanted to get published?

Respondent 29: Yes, you have Johannesburg complaining that there's not enough money, and then I came across that very low management are driving very fancy cars. You know, we are paying for that. They dress better than my wife can dress. They drive a motorcar better than I can drive. I'm not a person who worries about status, but how can they afford that? And I would have loved to have had the newspaper look into it. Nothing happened, it was never taken up. It was most probably four or five years ago.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 29: I've always had good response. You've got to understand that at the local paper you've got everyone knocking at the door saying please put that in, and you've got to vet it and you've got to be reasonable and accessible to everybody without favouring anyone specifically.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the community newspaper more accessible to contact than a provincial or national paper, and why?

Respondent 29: I think it is because by nature that it's delivered. I don't buy a newspaper. I'm tired of all the garbage that is in the newspaper and the only time that I buy a newspaper is when I fly. Other than that I am not interested.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general and how do you access most of your news?

Respondent 29: I listen to the news, watch it on the TV. It affects me though. A lot of people want to know what's happening and it's very important.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 29: I think it's the natural thing. People's biggest investment is their house and their interest is in their kids in schools, and if everything is running properly there, they are happy.

Interviewer: Do you think it does fulfil that purpose?

Respondent 29: I think it does. You know I talk to all my bowling mates and tennis players and they all comment. There are a lot of people who read the *Fourways Review*. They do.

RESPONDENT 30

Respondent 30: So, both the general and the critical comment from myself, I think it misses the mark hugely as a community paper. I think, just to give a general start-off comment which will be hugely useful, if you ask me what this production [*Fourways Review*] is about, I step into the shoes of someone who would be owning it, and as an owner I think that the mark has been missed big time and I have a comparison to this which is in the stable, which is the *Highway Mail*, as I knew it when I was a youngster growing up and *the Highway Mail* for a young guy growing up in Pinetown who used to play sport all over the place, so I am looking at it through my eyes, what it did for us youngsters, the reporters were out everywhere on every sports field, there were photographs, I mean, we would run out to get this thing as youngsters because our name was

in there. And each one of the sporting clubs and each one that was happening there, the reporters were there. This [*Fourways Review*] doesn't do it. I wouldn't know why, every now and then you get a photograph of Crawford kids, which I think is getting closer to the mark, but it's not done on a regular basis of any kind. It's a weekly, so there's no weekly regularity. So, as an owner, I would say to the reporters that this is lazy reporting. In fact I've made that comment before that it's absolutely lazy.

From a business owners' perspective I think it should come out of the Caxton stable and it should come to us [Lonehill]. Because purely I think it's about business model and I don't believe that whoever's running this operation understands their business model as a single entity, they probably understand it as a media model, that it's just a little brand along the line, but as an individual business model entity, they miss the business model on this thing [*Fourways Review*] big time. 99 percent.

The original Caxton model was advertising dependent and now you can see what carries this little model, I would think is national advertising brands through inserts which are a pain to me but my wife takes them out and has a look at it, which are carrying it, so it seems to be a wrap-around lazy journalism feature for national advertising, I think that's a good summary.

So, what's the wasted opportunity? There are, in fact our local target market is that we've got 6 000 local homes, we spend 179 million a month and we as Think Community target 2 000 local businesses which is a drop in the ocean of the 10 000 homes. *Fourways Review* is on a radius of about 38 000, so it's a wide coverage. The vast majority of the home owners here have or work in a business. Now, if you extrapolate to 38 000, especially in the northern suburbs, I would say at least a third are business owners or have a serious decision-making role in a business. So, let's look at what our consumer expenditure is in 38 000 homes. And so if 10 000 businesses want to advertise in *Fourways Review*, this publication does not help them at all and does not help itself at all.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Lonehill?

Respondent 30: For 32 years.

Interviewer: Do you also work in the *Fourways Review* distribution area?

Respondent 30: Yes, from home.

Interviewer: How long are your commutes to and from work?

Respondent 30: 10m, I've always operated from an office from home.

Interviewer: How involved are you in your neighbourhood, for example, how often do you attend public meetings, chat to your neighbours, attend community events?

Respondent 30: Probably one of the most community activist that this community has ever seen.

Interviewer: Describe how important it is for you to know what is happening in your neighbourhood?

Respondent 30: Extremely important. We don't get enough communication and this publication does not provide enough either.

Interviewer: How often do you keep up with news in general?

Respondent 30: That's where we use the national papers. This is a community paper, we don't need national in that. You need a summary of what national events is going to affect the community here and this publication doesn't do that.

Interviewer: How do you access most of your news?

Respondent 30: To date, who buys newspapers anymore so it's mainly on the net now.

Interviewer: Why do you read *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 30: Just to see if by any chance there might be some local news. Crime seems to be a very high priority on this and that's because I think whoever is taking strategic editorial decisions feels that crime sells and you can read it in the paper.

Interviewer: How often do you read *Fourways Review* newspaper?

Respondent 30: When it arrives.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend reading the community newspaper every week?

Respondent 30: Two-and-a-half to three minutes scan reading it.

Interviewer: Talk about your reading habits of the newspaper, what order you read the newspaper in?

Respondent 30: I cover the whole thing in about three minutes. Only if there's something that interests me from a local community angle, then I will snap into it but you know if I want to read that Cosatu is having an etoll demonstration in city centre, why would I want to read that?

Interviewer: To what extent do you read the *Fourways Review* website?

Respondent 30: I spend more time on the website than I do here because that gives me the snap-shot that I want, so I'll scan the site and have a look at about two or three articles that interest me.

Interviewer: On many of the stories, the readers are encouraged to express their views on the *Fourways Review* social media pages or to log onto the website to view a gallery of photos or a video. How often do you log onto the newspaper's online platforms to access this news?

Respondent 30: No, I think whoever's doing that from a social media perspective is not hitting the buttons with those questions. I think they are very weak. I think there is a very big community issue at the moment where debate

should be stimulated through this thing. It's dogs on leash versus dogs off leash within a park area. I reckon there's going to be a huge community fight in this park and it should be debated before it comes to that. And you can see that in the social media comments as people are starting to have a go at each other, and now that's community news, and it should be given a highlight and it should be made controversial because it's really about a group of people who want the freedom to actually walk their dogs against the Joburg bylaws, and that the residents' association supposedly protecting its residents, is siding with the bylaws against its residents. Now, I think that's an issue.

Interviewer: In general, does the front page photo with a headline, sub-headline and caption interest you and how often do you turn to that story?

Respondent 30: No. It often shows the national strategy of the paper. No publication worth its salt would ever run a front page like this. They would make certain that they capture as many of their market as possible with a little headline there, a little snapshot there, and I'm guided by what I watch the tabloids on a tablet because it's what I watch most of the time, so you look at a tabloid and it's got colour. This has got one headline, and if I'm not into horses, I'm not interested. So, it tells me that this is not a for sale publication, it's a "Let's just get another publication out because we've got to get another publication out to wrap around these adverts."

Interviewer: Do you take note of the front page puffs which indicate stories in the newspaper, and how often do you use them to turn to a certain story?

Respondent 30: No, who can read that print?

Interviewer: Are there any sections of the newspaper which you always read, and sections you never read?

Respondent 30: No. I read from front to back. In the middle, the ads used to be in a contained section which I used to pull out. Now, they've got a problem because some of the ads are in-between articles, which try to force you to read

it, so that's my read and then it gets faster to the back. The moment I get to the Auto page, I take it all out. They've got to stir controversy more, or personal interest, so like the *Highway Mail*, when they start to put people's names in that then it stirs interest because people go to look for their own names. It's just natural. So, the more people that you can involve in the community, the more readers you will have.

Interviewer: How strong and accurate you believe the standard of the reporting is? How could the reporting be better?

Respondent 30: I think the journos here are pretty good but I think you can read between the lines, I don't know how much license they get. At one time there were huge spelling problems, about five, six months ago, and you could see it. The spelling was atrocious, for journos. In the main, I've met them and they've always been pretty good people, but maybe this is a training ground for, a stepping stone for other projects.

Interviewer: What would you expect to gain information about from reading local news?

Respondent 30: Local.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* fulfils your expectations of what you would want to read about in a community newspaper?

Respondent 30: I think it could play a much bigger role in entertaining the community, so this is where I think it's missing, in working with businesses to come up with prizes and giveaways and competitions and treasure hunts and moving people within the community and, so because it's not being done here, we've got plans to do it ourselves, but we would love to do it with the *Fourways Review*, because I think if they started putting in things that compelled people into a competition, hey, I've got to read this issue and that issue and it starts driving me to those issues and it starts interacting with community events, I think it would retain the reader a lot more, so scavenger hunts, treasure hunts,

those competitions and entertainments. It used to be big on Starlight Cruises, make people win a competition.

Interviewer: To what extent do you see the newspaper as the voice in the community?

Respondent 30: If you had to say from one being very weak to 10 being very strong, two.

Interviewer: How could it fulfil your expectation better?

Respondent 30: Stimulate the debates, so, look for where the debates are, look for who is driving the communities, but be so careful about community leaders, they are the most misleading individuals ever. So, wherever status quo exists, be very wary. Look for the activists who are saying that status quo is not doing what it should be doing, that's my view, and so what that means is that there will be two views. There will be a status quo point-of-view, don't rock the boat and there will be those that will be saying that we want things to happen, so, to me, the paper should be about two points of view on every article and to see which is the most controversial.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 30: Carrying national advertising. I don't think they fool one member of the community at all that it is a community newspaper. I think this paper has got acceptability, that people know it's going to arrive and that it is a pain but they actually accept it, so it is an acceptable brand. If you wanted to come in to compete, and in fact there are brands coming in to compete. So I think this is acceptable as a brand but if you talk about what can you do to make it more community-oriented, it needs to be fresh. With regards to competitions and so on, the link between the paper and social media is absolutely critical. If this [newspaper] is not driving people to social media and vice versa, then you can throw it away. The critical thing of this newspaper is that people still like

tactile. The mobile revolution is all over the place but there's always going to be a room for print, so it's critical. And the benefit of this newspaper is the acceptability of the brand and that it's going to be dropped off on a Wednesday and sometimes they blow it and it only comes to us on a Thursday. So, if you want to upset us old folks.

Interviewer: How would you like to see the newspaper improved?

Respondent 30: I would say that that's the very worst insert that I have ever seen in any publication anywhere *points to small text on an advertising insert*. I struggle to read these *points to articles*. I need to put glasses on to read the articles, and then when you are looking at this nonsense. Isn't it terrible to think of a publication as a wrap-around for those adverts, and that is really what it is, so what does that say to the journalists wanting to learn their crafts? No, put some young journalists on this fun thing and turn it upside down.

Interviewer: Have you ever contacted *Fourways Review* journalists or to work on the story?

Respondent 30: Yes. Very good. They've been fantastic. I think that from everyone that we have met, I can't recall a bad experience. So, the people that we have met have been fantastic.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at events in the Fourways community?

Respondent 30: Every time we've sent out a message for them to attend, they've been there, and they've carried the story, and if we prepare our own copy, it'll be used, and we'll get a thanks for it. So, I think it's how you [as a community member] prepare, but that might indicate that there's not enough quality journalism extracting quality community articles here. Maybe that's lazy journalism, waiting for us to prepare the stuff because then at least I will know that I will get a decent story carried across, so I have never left it to chance. No one has ever taken ours and left it word for word, they have then manipulated it.

So, I don't know if that's an indication of lazy journalism, waiting for the work to be done and then publishing. I know that they are also grateful for what we do. I know a journalist who is a super investigative journalist who is now at Carte Blanche and she cut her teeth here [at *Fourways Review*]. A lot of people do.

Interviewer: What role do you believe the newspaper and its journalists serve in the community?

Respondent 30: I don't believe they do solve problems, and I don't believe it is seen to. That's what a community newspaper should be doing, to take up those causes and seeing them to the end. This paper backs no causes, there is not a local community cause that is backed by this paper. So, what's its role in the community? It should be a champion to one or two things and it can become a champion by turning around and saying, here's the debate here, here's the debate there. The community can make the decision, but the paper can raise it.

Points to an article on the Metro page which described the police statistics and a debate on whether the national police commissioner should be sacked This is national commentary in a community newspaper.

It's pretty good with the sport and the kids and getting them involved. But it's not an exciting read.

Interviewer: To what extent do you find *Fourways Review's* team accessible, such as to ask the team to work on stories for you?

Respondent 30: Well accessible. There's a contradiction there which I think is that great people access, people who want to please but something limits the outcome, or maybe they think they've got a great product and I've got it wrong.

Interviewer: To what extent do you identify with the newspaper as 'yours'?

Respondent 30: I think the question can be answered, what would happen if *Fourways Review* was to disappear as a brand, in other words, Caxton decided

let's pull it out. Someone would take up the gap immediately, so, without a shadow of a doubt.

Interviewer: And how great a loss would it be for the community?

Respondent 30: I don't think there would be any loss. And that's a problem. But, I am saying that someone would take up the gap and want to do a better job. And, would they have a challenge? Well, if they didn't have the national advertising because I guarantee you that it is the national advertising that carries the bulk of this thing [*Fourways Review*]. So, it is Caxton's pool rather than the *Fourways Review's*. If they pulled out, I would want to start one.

APPENDIX F: TRANSCRIPTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR SUB-PROBLEM TWO

RESPONDENT 1

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 1: Definitely.

Interviewer: What gives you think gives you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 1: As I say, I came out here for a reason in 2000 and it was to live in the country and be part of it and I got involved in the community from word go. Here, I think I know 50 percent of the people in Sun Valley, who I could invite here for a drink, quite happily. A good few that I call friends. I do pretty much feel that this is still an old-fashioned community, sometimes when we go to the shops, there is almost a village atmosphere to it. There is still a community feel here.

Interviewer: Is there the feeling of neighbours looking after one another?

Respondent 1: Very much so.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 1: I will be sorry to leave it. I am planning on leaving it. Purely to go more country. I am going to be leaving here to move to the Midlands.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 1: Any more than I need to? No, I don't need to join any more.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 1: I think I have a natural community frame-of-mind. It's just something that I have always had. My folks brought me up like that. My mother was a farmer's daughter so community was always important. Certainly from an investment point-of-view, yes, I have an interest in what's happening around me, and at this point in time it's being encroached upon and I think it's being encroached upon very negatively by developers and my sense of place is not what I bought into and it's been very negatively affected. It is one of the things that I have been very aware of.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: There are things that they are ahead of me.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: Just talking to the community. I think our Facebook groups are very active. Especially the Beaulieu one, and the Sun Valley one. I think they are active, healthy Facebook sites and they work. There's a lot of interaction and feedback on those sites.

Interviewer: Would you say that *Fourways Review* supplements those sites?

Respondent 1: Yes, because it's broader. I don't mind reading things, what's happening on the other side of the Jukskei. Sometimes I am very isolated here. I can go, I don't leave Kyalami for a month. I don't drive more than five kilometres anywhere. Quite happily.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: Ya. Especially if it's, something, people know my interests and where I am, so if I embellish it with something from *Fourways Review*, I do. I will use it, I have no shame in using it. There's time and space for everything, and if

I can back up my stories I will. It's important. I've always been in favour of good ethics and democracy so if something's going to be represented, it has to be correctly represented.

Interviewer: Do you find *Fourways Review* does that?

Respondent 1: Mostly, certain aspects, they can get a lot louder. I'm going to talk about the ward councillor here. He voted for the hub. He stood up in council and voted for it, when his entire community voted against it. There is something very wrong with that there. He was shouting no against the function, but I think in this one [points to the edition of *Fourways Review*] or the last one, there's a picture of him at a music function at the hub. Sorry? There's fork, tongue, here, what is he doing? He's certainly no representing his community there. His community hate developers. They hate the development, they don't want to see it happen. To this day, they want to see it fold and fall in a heap. But he still supports it and if he thinks people are going to vote for him next here, they are not.

Interviewer: To what extent do you depend on *Fourways Review* for your news?

Respondent 1: It is between a dependency and a nice-to-have. I'm not too sure my life would end if it wasn't here, but certainly there's a comfort in me getting it every week. I need to balance myself and by reading more, especially on the local side, it helps me balance. I can't just have my thoughts all the time. I will get very lonely.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 1: I've always had it. But by the fact that it is local, that to me is a good thing and I think that is why people do read it. It's a good philosophy.

Interviewer: Anything that you would like to add?

Respondent 1: I think they can afford to add content, both soft and hard and everything in-between. I think these guys [advertisers] are giving you enough to do that.

RESPONDENT 2

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 2: By reading the local paper, not so much. But what I can say, is that we've had so many more people coming to book sales.

Interviewer: Are you happy in the Bryanston area?

Respondent 2: Yes, love it. I am so tired of maintenance. Bryanston is the only place we will live in Johannesburg.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 2: Very.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 2: Well, I was a member of the DA committee and the Bryanston club, and the Rivonia Riding Club, but I've left all of that now. Oh and bridge, and I run a business.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 2: Oh through that no. Actually, I have looked if there was clubs to get involved. I'm in my 60s now, and everyone is in a panic, what are you going to do, no kids, cats, dogs. And the fallacy, I don't know if it's true or not but it is, play bridge, because you will never be lonely in your old age. And then I looked

and looked to find a bridge club. And then there were other ladies, but they play much higher than our kitchen bridge. And then I finally found one at Field and Study. But it's taken me almost two years to find something, because where do you find clubs that offer something? So if it had been in the paper, I would have jumped at it. And there is a new article for the paper. Because they are always looking for members. I think there is a need to know, like art classes, pottery, yoga, because a lot of women want to do them but they don't know where to go.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 2: I get a sense, with everybody, that they would like to get involved, but they don't know how.

Interviewer: Do you think they see the local paper as that provider?

Respondent 2: Just one platform, but no one is taking it higher to bring it together.

Interviewer: Is there any way that the paper could help to do that more.

Respondent 2: We are all so isolated in South Africa. The community newspaper tells us what's going on, so it's very important to people. How to do the next step, I thought the DA could bring it together, but it didn't happen. I think people are so lonely. When I work for the estate agent, I had to do canvassing on a Tuesday night. And I hated it, I hate pushing myself into people's faces. But people were so friendly. Maybe it was because I could speak English and they could relate to me but I could have been the biggest crook in the world and sending gangs into their houses, and yet they were allowing me to make appointments for the estate agents. And it just struck me that people are so isolated that when they hear a friendly voice, they are very positive. But that's my personal views.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 2: Oh I always pick up at the shopping centres, a very well-produced magazine, *Get It*, now they fly off the stands. But if the community papers were also stacked there, they would also go. And it's lovely to look through and it's very pretty and stylish.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 2: I don't even know if we have a residents' association.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 2: No, it doesn't really come up. I come from a work and home environment where news plays a big impact. But nobody discusses news. I miss that reality check, I really do.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 2: No, we usually know what's going on. There was an accident up there and all the neighbours were giving statements. There is a sense of fear. There was a lot of chit-chat, but not that sense of community that I spent most of my life involved in, so this is a good bridge, it is an "in" to people's homes, it is brilliant.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 2: No, our social life is very quiet now, so we don't go to these events.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 2: Yes, definitely.

RESPONDENT 3

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 3: Yes.

Interviewer: What gives you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 3: Because I live here, my kids live here, I work here, I'm driving around here, I'm involved.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 3: Well, it has its moments, sometimes you had it. In Fourways you can see numbers, when you put events on in Fourways everyone is rearing to go, and say okay, what time is it? I don't know if a shopping centre disease makes that happen. I like lots of people.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 3: Yes.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 3: Oh very well. I know their birthdays, I am a know-your-neighbour person. I am doing something now which is quite neat for everyone. Instead of all of us owning a lawnmower, out of seven of us, only two of us owns a lawnmower, so whenever you need to mow your lawn, you borrow one, and the guys at least, we exchange tools, which is wonderful. It's an experiment in neighbourliness. It's interesting.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 3: Ya, well the Midrand Forum, the Fourways network, the Centurion network, the Tembisa network, I'm a presenter on the radio station, so I have all these people. I have 84 groups on Facebook. Every time I have a market or something, I just attract all these people.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 3: Yes, there has been things that I didn't know about, like for my son to join a swimming thing that we didn't know about or we, 48-hours ago we helped, you know there's been a cry for no sporting facilities so we approached a school and the school said we can help so people who need a sports facility can come. You read about things in the paper and then we would jump right in, so, we would use a WhatsApp for the finer details but we would all hear about it from the paper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 3: Yes, particular articles, one that requires a random act of kindness and we would contribute. So it's important. There's a good call to action from the paper and I think that's why a lot of community organisations would sort of love to put more into the paper, but you know there's a lot but it can't always be that, because even with people it would be like there's that again so there's always a balance.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 3: A lot, but because of the frequency of the paper, I read the website often. I think I'm the first one. The moment they hit publish, I pick it up, I have alerts on the site. Anytime the front page changes I am the first to know

because, put it this way, if something happens, I need to pick it up and adjust it and do something with it. I am the first fan.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 3: I think the paper could but I think it's more up to the organisers to give an incentive. I think two things I would like to mention on this one. One is that for the paper to kind of assist with cross-promotions, I think there needs to be a community presence in community announcements, publishing is one thing, but to have someone pull up in a Fourways car, it's a stronger link that is established. And I know a lot of the organisers, including myself, I am willing to put up the banners, for free of charge, because it makes people feel that this whole thing is just that much bigger, the possibility of the newspaper being there and the thought, "I'm going to be in the paper". You know, it's very powerful. So, you know, getting it in the yes of the paper I think it's important.

The other thing is that in a lot of the sections of the papers, including the ones in Pretoria, I've seen them all, I've read them all online and the number one thing for me is that there is no cultural bridging. It is too white. The community is expanding, it's changing. I think in the beginning it would be tough, but you know there was, I know one of the writers used to be De Walt, you know he was a pretty intelligent guy, he's got his finger on the pulse. And here's an idea, a Caxton or *Fourways Review* day in Diepsloot where you are going to try to find budding writers. I think they'd get a lot of interest, but out of it I think they'd find one or two journalists there that would supply them with interesting stories, to a standard, they'd pay them an intern fee kind of thing and while they're writing and all of a sudden, the review is in Diepsloot, and they would get readers there. They may even need to engage the advertisers and if they painted them a picture that they are looking over here [to the townships] and building them up, then you would get the advertising up.

I usually read the website first, then the paper, then Facebook. My reason for Facebook last is that I usually comment on the website but for some reason there is not a great response on the website and I don't know why that is. So,

then I wait a bit and then I will go into the Facebook page and comment again there. I get a little bit more, but not that much more, but the Facebook is a little more active than the website.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 3: Not only that, is that I publish ward websites, the Midrand Forum. I have to read every story, and the ones that are really relevant, I pull them and then I publish them, I give full credit and then I push people back to the website. And there's a lot. I would say there are between one and three articles a week that I would pull out.

Interviewer: Is there any particular content that you are looking for?

Respondent 3: It depends, there is one about the community. The ones that I like but I don't publish is when the group editor makes a comment. It would be interesting, I think the communities are ready for a combination of Trevor Noah, you know someone to make some statements. I have these conversations on WhatsApp quite a lot, and you'll have people who will do the ostrich, they will put their head in the sand and will only come up to say, "Is that issue off the board now?" And, we're afraid. People are afraid to talk about things. I think at least on the electronic platform they can, they need someone to raise it a little. Just a contributor and say, send us something, it would cause so much controversy but it would get the paper noticed. I say that because all of Caxton's papers are in a predictable groove. It's okay for the audience, and I am big on disruption and disruption feels good, but they have to be prepared to take the heat.

Interviewer: Do you think the paper is a bit too conservative?

Respondent 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you think there is a reason why?

Respondent 3: Because of the audience but I also think it is their, it is not their written duty, but it is a duty to help educate people, to help bridge, I also think if I sat here with Terry, there is only one reason for the paper to exist, and that's money. However, the impact of what a newspaper could do to community is far greater than money. A paper that takes in all these dissenting views and comments and help bring the community together, is what the editors will try to do but you have constraints. I think that I have seen an improvement in that, but take that one more step. Things are changing. What's the word? Adapt or die. And their audience is changing, and if they want to get more black people in there. In the past two or three years, the people who I have dealt with have said, oh Caxton is a white paper. And it is, and there's nothing quite wrong with that but I think if they would try to bring in the other side, it would help. Big role.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 3: No, I haven't. It's usually brought to my attention in the paper and then I do something about it. It's the readers too, and it's not so much anything to do with the paper, but I think it would be really good if people took pictures and sent in comment and took a bit of ownership of the paper, and I think slowly they almost need invites, "Please send us your pictures, send in your stories". That level community is missing. There is this level and up, but there is this whole level which the paper comes onto maybe once in a while.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is?

Respondent 3: I don't think these people know enough about the paper, there's a catch 22, because if they want people to know about the paper, they need to drop thousands of them into Diepsloot for example and I think it will take a while, and as soon as one or two people see their names, they are going to get a flood. Once they [residents] realise there is an opportunity, there is something to listen to. There is a lot of content there and if they [the paper] can tease that out, they will be able to commercialise it, monetise it because of the reach and I

think they will be doing everyone a great service, and they are the only ones that can do this. When you think of all the other media, it's funny, when you cross off who can do this and who can't, the community newspapers are really the only ones who can bring them together. They are nation builders. Radio, it's too one-sided and I'm not going to listen to Kwaito, they're not going to rock. It's too focused. And in every Caxton paper there is a black community and a white one and all they need to do in a sense is join them. We have Diepsloot and Kya Sands even, there's an actual obvious link to bring those two together and I think it would be fabulous. I think they would get government support. You know, there is a whole level up here that are trying to do that and it doesn't. But a paper is great, it's a one-way thing, you can respond to it with social media, but it's out there, it's in your face.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 3: Hardly ever, because they never identify themselves. They don't come with t-shirts or caps that say *Fourways Review*. There's no collateral. The only way you get to find out is that they would normally come and sit in the front and then people will say, who are you, and they say I am from the Review. It's amazing that when they say that and everybody else hears, the whole room changes. Everyone all of a sudden cleans up a little, because the possibility of getting something in the paper is strong. There's power there but they don't use it, you know, don't abuse it but the power of media is big.

Interviewer: What do you think the paper could do in the community?

Respondent 3: Like we've spoken about the mouthpiece of the community that implies that anybody in the community is able to access the paper, it doesn't mean that whatever story they give you, they are going to print it because there are limitations, however, if they are going to listen to and be acknowledged, even if it's a no, the paper has got them, and it's a relationship between the paper and the community and then they [the paper] truly becomes a mouthpiece. Now the paper becomes the mouthpiece for those guys, not a

mouthpiece for us. That's why I keep steering towards there because, they [township community] are the other three-quarters of the community and I think it is literally a duty [of the newspaper] to bring those together.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 3: Yes, for that 30 minutes when I am reading the paper because I am not listening or doing anything else, I am just focusing on just that, so I am plugged in for those 30 minutes. And, that's important. If I get something from Rosebank I don't really read it but for Fourways, when I read it or see it and know that things are happening at Monte or the Indaba, then I know because I know. Then I feel connected because then I am familiar with it, but if you were to tell me something that happened in Rosebank, I don't know that so it has no significance. So, everything now, and this is probably the biggest advantage is that the newspaper is, what we call, hyper-local, but they are not using it to their advantage. They are a community paper and it's a good platform, it just needs to be shaped a little better. If you're going to be a platform for the community then make a change, make it change people's lives for the better. That's what it need to do. If you get people who enjoy it because it affects them, good or bad, but it's still things that they need. We all want to be informed.

RESPONDENT 4

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 4: I've lived here a long time but I don't think there is much community in the suburb. You know what I mean, that's why I think that part needs to be more worked.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 4: I think I would be quite, there are places in Joburg that I would prefer to live. I have been very happy here, I find it very convenient here, it is

terribly central for my work and so I would have to have a change in my work circumstances to change something that has worked so well for me.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 4: Well, as I say, I know about the security and stuff like that and I am involved so from that point of view more with the complexes around here, I know what's going on but for that area up there, I have no idea what's going on, and there are actually a lot more people there and the same there is a bigger part of the area and it is actually the bigger part of the area on the other side of the Spar. When I think about it, we are divided into little sections. Over here we have the sections around the koppies and they are sort of divided into little things and then there is this whole Little Fourways over there and then I don't even know what that part on the other side is called between Witkoppen and Kingfisher and then on the other side, that is Norscot which I think is considered to be part of Fourways, really. You know for a crime sense, I actually think it would be more useful to actually have a feel for what is going on, you know last week in the evening we got a message saying that a fence had been broken, and that was useful but if there had been a lot of things happening in Little Fourways, it probably would be quite useful to know about it. You know, that kind of thing, I don't find. So in that sense, is it a community? Because it seems to be just these little pockets.

Interviewer: To what extent does the community newspaper tie the communities together?

Respondent 4: No, I'm not feeling that.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 4: Ya, I've got, I've lived here a long time, in the complex they come and go, but I do know my neighbours.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 4: No, well I mean I've got this complex, but no not community organisations.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 4: No, no, it's true, it hasn't and maybe that's part of the thing, make stuff in this area more accessible to people.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 4: No, not really.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

BH: I don't necessarily think so. I mean, I can see that this little boy or girl, I mean I can't really see it properly, did well in this sort of ride but that doesn't really mean anything to me. The *Fourways Review*, does it extend as far as Sunninghill and Lonehill?

Interviewer: Yes, so it covers Norscot to Broadacres, Kyalami to Sun Valley and then Sunninghill and Paulshof and Witkoppen is the cut off there.

Respondent 4: Gosh, it's a big area. To call that your community, I wouldn't have thought of Lonehill as part of my community. Or where is Sun Valley?

Interviewer: In Kyalami.

Respondent 4: Funny, now that you mention it there is a lot about Beaulieu, now that you mention it, the horsey parts. It's perhaps too geographically

dispersed to create that sense of community. I don't even have a sense, I mean I have a sense of this little area being three separate areas, and then what's going on in Norscot, I haven't got a clue.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 4: Well, considering how big it is and how dispersed it is geographically, perhaps if there was more information about what you could do in those areas that might make the sense of community in the bigger area. But for now, if something is being built or happening in Lonehill, you know I am not going to know about it. I am not going to go there to have a look.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 4: No, I don't think I would miss it [*Fourways Review*]. I don't think it provides such an interesting take on the community that I would miss it.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 4: For the security? It's a WhatsApp group.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 4: No.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 4: No.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 4: No, because I don't really go to them but maybe they are there.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 4: Not really, no. I think it could, I think there is potential but not right now.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you would like to add.

Respondent 4: No, not really.

RESPONDENT 5

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 5: Not completely....

Interviewer: What does/doesn't give you think gives (or does not give) you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 5: But it [*Fourways Review*] is certainly the only touchpoint that I have with the community – so it is appreciated and needed!

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 5: I like where we live, the people, shops etc. I have no intentions of leaving!

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 5: Yes. I like the schools, my mother lives close by, I haven't yet been affected by crime and so feel relatively safe.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 5: Fairly. I'm interested only in sport and general news.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours? (How often do you speak to them?)

Respondent 5: I don't really know them.... just say "hi" in passing and chat occasionally.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 5: Nope. Keep to myself!

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 5: Nope. My life is hectic enough – I simply don't have time to join more things.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 5: Absolutely! If I were interested in moving suburbs, then I'd check out their local paper / website first.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 5: It's my only touch point to the community.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 5: Not sure. I am happy with it as is.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 5: I wouldn't!

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 5: I don't know if we have any? *Fourways Review* is all I read in terms of my community.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 5: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 5: Often.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 5: I don't. Not entirely certain I've ever had a reason to "find out more".

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 5: No.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 5: Often. They cover almost every event I've ever asked them to.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 5: Yes. I get to "know" people in my community by reading about them and what they've achieved etc.

RESPONDENT 6

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 6: Well, a sense of involvement in that I know what's going on, I do.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 6: I wouldn't be happy to leave my community. I like living here.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 6: Yes, especially in Cedar Lakes because it's like our safe space.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 6: Committees in Cedar Lakes. I'm not involved in anything in Fourways. I am heavily involved in the school. But I'll get involved in the transporting of the kids. Like I saw the fly-fishing shop had a special on that it was advertising for a cheaper price for kids and I took the school there, and things like that I do pick up from the paper, things around here that actually benefit the kids.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 6: I know them. How well I know them, well we had voting at the AGM and I went around to ask if they wanted me to take proxies, and if they need anything they will come around, and I know them reasonably well. From one to 10, probably a 4.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 6: I've seen adverts for someone who does stein glass windows, so I have used it as a directory. And I often, if I need, my son was looking for a place to stay and we waited for the paper for the property section. And now that my son is actually going overseas, I would actually put an advert in to rent the house.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 6: Ya, I think a knowledge of the area means that we can feel more comfortable with our financial investment in the area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 6: I know a lot. When I see people filling potholes in the area or a new park, I mean it's not information that affects me directly but I would like to know that it is improving the area.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 6: For Cedar Lakes I would but say for example. It's quite difficult for example there is a piece of land opposite us, and I guess if I wanted to try to find out something about that I would contact someone in council, so I suppose I would Google it or phone the council. But ya, for when the upgrades of roads

are going to be finished [I use *Fourways Review*], and in fact it would be nice to know when the Cedar Lakes one will be finished because how the hell do you find anyone else who is going to give you that answer. Well, the *Fourways Review* was probably incorrect in that it said it would take two years, and it took four years for the William Nicol one to get done. Only two years too late.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 6: I wouldn't go and see if there was anything about it in the Review.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 6: Ya, I tear them out. In fact, there was just an article about my son's company putting that shear guard for free for the policemen, and I kept it for the company book. Ya, there is definitely times that we will sit and say, "Did you see this in the paper?" There's been the big thing about Main Road being changed from 80km/hr to 60km/hr. Did you see they've even blackened out the signs there. I mean it is ridiculous to do that.

I must say that there are some things that I wish they would write about, like when you come off of the highway and turn onto Rivonia Road and the police stop you. I mean, isn't it the rule of the road that you need to stop five meters from an intersection? I mean, you turn around the corner there and there they are, and I mean, how many times have there been bumper bashings there which they're responsible. Because isn't it 500m from an intersection that you are supposed to stop? It's things like that that people should question. But how do you take them on, and it's times like that that I think, oh I should actually contact the *Fourways Review* to look into it, but nobody says anything. The journalists should just stop and make a comment about things that make you

question and maybe put it forward and say, is that right? Are we breaking any laws here?

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 6: I think the only time that I have ever seen any Fourways Reviews is when the Bokke were at Monte. But I'm not really a socialite. I probably don't go to many launches.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 6: Yes, by association, I think you can sort of relate to something that somebody else has written about. I think often you will find that you will see somebody else having a say on something that you have seen in the area, and then you think, okay well I am glad that someone has put it in the paper. I think it's true what they say, South Africans are very slow to criticise, we are not really people that will moan about things, we will just put up with them. We are a bit reticent about getting involved.

Interviewer: Would you be reluctant to contact the newspaper again to raise a certain issue?

Respondent 6: I suppose if I felt strongly enough I would definitely contact the paper, and if we do anything at school I am then inclined to contact the paper. And when Mikey drowned in the pool I felt that you know, people should be more aware. When there is injustices I think we feel as though we could contact the paper, so they are quite accessible like that. I think the biggest thing is that you don't get responses, and you know, by the time that you, then it goes out of your mind and you forget about it. Even when you send something that you don't even get a response that they have received it. I think that's a big thing for me.

Interviewer: And anything further that you would like to add on how the newspaper could fulfil your expectations better?

Respondent 6: No, I actually think it is quite a well put together paper. I enjoy reading it, I find it very informative. I think that's all the things that you need from it. I think if you have anything that you would like to read, you would put it in. I think a lot of people read it, even amongst my friends, I would say it's a big source of knowledge in our area, especially women. A lot of women are not, if you're in an office I think you will go into a website because you are sitting there anyway and you've got a couple of minutes. But when you are a house wife or a school Mom, you will grab this and while you are waiting for a kid you will read this. Like the Odyssey magazine used to be my favourite and now they have gone totally digital and I don't agree with that because sometimes you will want to attend a concert and you will cut it out and stick it on the fridge. When you have digital, it takes the energy out of it. There is no tactile feel about it.

You know, you pick this newspaper up because it's local. If it was about Mondeor, you would say, "Why do I care about this?" The size of this is good, you know, it's not too much to get over-and-done-with, and yet it is informative and you can actually be in a situation where you don't, you know it's not too much information to take in. You don't want something that has pictures and information all over that would take too long to go through. I mean and if you made one newspaper for all of the north that also wouldn't be good because it would make it too big. It would make it have too many pages, and you would stop reading it because it would have things of no interest to you, whereas this is very area bound, which I like.

Information-wise, I think it would be very useful if you added the address so people could put it into their GPS finder.

I think the print size is quite good. I mean, people often don't have their glasses and they just want to peruse it, so I think the print is quite good. The normal print is good. I think it is usually a useful tool.

RESPONDENT 7

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 7: Yes I do, very strong.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 7: I would be very sorry to leave the community. I think we have got a lot of really nice people living here and I think it only comes out when people get out and when there are community events organised. In the past there were a lot more things happening but for a while nothing happened. So, if you go to the Halloween and you see people and you get to know them, or if there's a big walk. That was one of the most amazing times to meet people and you just think gosh, I've never met these people who live in my area, and you just think gosh, you know what nice people and so I have got a good feeling about the area, you always get the problem residents here and there, wherever you go, and unfortunately where you've got townhouse residents, you've got a lot of people and where we stayed just opposite us is that people race down the road. I also think that our sense of community is very strong because we've also gone out there and made an effort to get to our neighbours, mostly to the fact, because of crime. That's where it's all stemmed from and if we made the decision to move, we'd probably move right out of Joburg. Or, if it was to move closer to the schools. But as long as we continue to address crime issues, I will stay. If the crime levels go too high, I will leave, there is no doubt. If it is not controlled and we feel unsafe, which we did at certain times, we felt very unsafe, and once I had started talking to neighbours just about everybody had been hit around us, which is shocking. So I think crime is a big issue and if it is not controlled I will definitely move.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 7: I've been a little bit divorced from the community things, the Halloween, I used to help out, I think as the children have got a lot older you just end up running around a lot more for them so it's really for that reason and so not as much as I used to.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 7: Yes, quite well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 7: No I'm not at this point.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 7: I would. I have often thought about the Rivonia Club and if I see something on the Rivonia Club because it is close by I always think oh, let's go and support it a bit. So, if there's a reminder to go and support something or the German Club or whatever, I think you need those reminders that those places exist. You get so involved in your day to day stuff so I think the role of the newspaper in regards, to doing that and highlighting our clubs and things is quite strong, and I think it is up to the clubs to communicate to the newspapers, you know, they've got to be sending their things to the newspapers, telling them what they are doing. You know, that is free publicity for them. If they're not taking advantage of those things then it is also their own doing.

Interviewer: Do you think the newspaper advertises those things enough?

Respondent 7: No, definitely not. And I do think that if you had an interested journalist in Paulshof he or she would be aware and give publicity. That's very lacking, definitely.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 7: Yes, it does because I think it's important to know just outside our borders as well.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 7: Yes, definitely otherwise we wouldn't know. It plays an important role, definitely.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 7: From the residents association we do get regular newsletters and information and I must say, I also don't go and look at their website much, I said to them, you've got to drive people to your website. People are not just going to go there, rather give a little blurb so they are forced to click.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 7: Yes, often. My neighbour who lives opposite me, Catherine, she even looks after our house and she babysits my children too, she's not married, it's just her and her sister, so she will say did you see that in the *Fourways Review* and I will say, oh I will go and check, so we do regularly talk about it.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 7: Not really, our first point of call would be the residents' association and our group that we've formed, we would probably chat about it

and then we would take it further with the residents' association but it does make us think that there are times that I think it's just the residents' association obviously would require that the community talks to them first before talking to the newspaper, I think that's probably the right channel to follow but if the residents' association is not taking it further, then you will find that the residents will start to do that. So, I must say at no point have we thought to go to the *Fourways Review* with our issues. Normally if we have addressed it with Annette Deppe, she will do it. We did complain bitterly about the road works up here and the robots in the wrong place, huge pressure was put on by our group of ladies about that and we had a meeting with her and she did tend to do something about it, so it helps that way.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 7: I think to the whole community that the newspaper addresses I suppose subconsciously it adds to it but I think that because you are driving through the area all the time as perhaps you do know certain people in areas I think you do have that sense of belonging and I think that [the newspaper] just reinforces that sense.

RESPONDENT 8

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 8: Yes.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 8: I would be sad to leave. I have bought and sold [houses] five times around here, so we love the community. I love the way everything is convenient, I have my bank, my shops right around me, we've got the park, we've got a lot of things that other community's don't have, so I would be sad to leave. I do enjoy living in Lonehill.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 8: I live in a complex, so I know my neighbours.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 8: I used be in all sorts of other things. I'm more concentrating on community issues now with *Think Community*.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 8: A bit of proactive journalism may be the answer for what is needed. There have been one or two that I have picked up, I've seen things coming up, some classical music coming through but there are some other sectors of the market that missing.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 8: If I miss it, it's more my wife that would miss it than me. My wife will go to the gate to go and get one. I don't even miss it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 8: I read it just in case I have missed something. But I don't go all out to make that effort because I am sure that we will hear about it anyway.

Interviewer: To what extent *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 8: There's also the problem of conflicting events, which doesn't really concern the paper but the community needs to know that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 8: I do, I will say oh did you see that event that is happening next to us. At dinner with friends I will say, did you read about that road there, and last week a woman was raped there.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 8: No, that's where the reporters need to dig and find out what's going on.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 8: Only for the specials. My wife will pull out the Checkers thing and say, we are going here today for the special on chicken.

RESPONDENT 9

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 9: Ya, I think so, ya.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 9: Ya, I think so, definitely.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 9: No, because my husband always says to me, would you be keen to go back to Durban, and Durban is so laid-back, there's a beach, it's lovely, I mean, moving up to Joburg three years ago now was the scariest thing ever, you know with the crime and even driving on the highways it was very

scary, but now, I said to my husband no ways, it's full of opportunities, ya, from a business perspective and from a, I don't know I just love it, it's fast, and ya, I love it.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 9: Quite involved, especially this year has been. The first two years was settling in, but this year, ya.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 9: Ya, very well, they are like friends, ya.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 9: Just Hirsch's and then I also do volunteer at the Ark – I do help out at the Ark Animal Centre, and then I am quite involved in kids' schools and that.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 9: Ya, definitely, like I remember there was the one fun run, what was it, for cancer? And, I really wanted to do it but my husband was away and I had the kids, you know, so it was a bit of a nightmare but ya it [the newspaper] does, it does make you want to get involved.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 9: Well, I think because you live here, you want to know what's happening, you want to be like sort of like aware, you know, living, you know also with the roads, like in that Chartwell area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 9: Ya, definitely.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 9: Ya, I suppose from schools you get quite a bit of news and also friends in the area, neighbours, ya, so, but obviously *Fourways Review* tells you everything but ya, *Fourways Review* tells you too, I suppose.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 9: Well, maybe I just show my husband an article of interest that he would be interested in. Obviously he wouldn't be interested in the same things that I am, if you know what I mean. But I also know that a lot of people read the *Fourways Review*, because when they did the article on the Hirsch's thing, people at my son's school and that, said, "Oh I saw the article in the newspaper." And that told me how many people read it, because it wasn't like, I mean if you read the article it was like, pyjama thing and then they had to actually go in and read it.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 9: I think maybe the other way round, because like if you go around the back here, because my little boy goes to Chartwell Country College, so because this road, because of them building and then they [the paper] gave a whole write up on the dust and ya, it was like, okay cool, because I drive up that road every day.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 9: No.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 9: Ya, it definitely does. I invited one journalist to the event at Hirsch's and the last time I think she got muddled up and she thought it was the evening thing, so she was SMSing me at seven o'clock and I think she thought it was half-past-eight at night, and then I said to her, she was come though, um, or even the digital editor, you know to meet the other ladies, to say how cool it is, you never know when you are going to meet the right person at the right time for work or business or whatever.

RESPONDENT 10

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community? What does/doesn't give you think gives (or does not give) you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 10: Yes, absolutely.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 10: I think it would be a chapter in my life and one would hope that if and when one moves on, it might galvanise you to generate the similar sort of community. An awareness.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 10: I don't want to move.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 10: Very interested. Not fanatical. I like the information that's given.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 10: Not any more.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 10: Yes, it has. It's an awareness thing.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 10: It's a habit which I look forward too. It's not purely because I am interested in the area. The newspaper provides a service to me and has done for years and years and years and years about the area, so it's a catch 22 so you are aware. Like ER24 is running courses for domestics, all that sort of thing that you wouldn't otherwise know.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 10: Yes, and which areas to avoid.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 10: Unless you write about it, one doesn't know. To encourage the youngsters for like trick or treat or Christmas parties, or for instance Rawsons have a drop-off point for like the Kya Sands fire, you could go and drop off clothes or blankets, there is a very big proactive community spirit, which isn't in a lot of the other areas.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 10: Yes.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 10: Well, I think one sadly has been in the situation and seen a smash and grab, and you listen on the radio for the local news and then, by the time the *Fourways Review* has usually, in the crime stats, this is what happened.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 10: Yes, very much so. By fact of the information, the fact that they do follow-up on stories. I find it very informative, I find the feedback good.

Interviewer: Anything that you would like to add?

Respondent 10: I think it's good from a community point-of-view that you do have someone in the area who does have a certain amount of influence. It's good that you do get someone who is, you see their name in the paper but you wouldn't have a clue who they were if you met them on the street.

I think it is a good local paper. For a little newspaper, I find it very useful and long may it continue to keep the communication going. Everything is so digital today, one worries about the communication.

RESPONDENT 11

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 11: Yes I do. I also feel that the *Fourways Review* journalists are part of us, like when we have our clean ups on a Saturday morning, they are reporting but they are taking part as well.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 11: I would be sorry to leave. I have put a lot of work into it and I am fond of it.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 11: Certainly for the short to medium term, three to five years.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 11: Very.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 11: Very well. I make a point of getting to network and know my neighbours and establish a relationship.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 11: Oh plenty of clubs and then of course chairman of the Douglasdale CPF.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 11: Yes, I initially joined the CPF from reading *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 11: Yes, when I am looking for information on the area's issues, *Fourways Review* is one of the points that I consult, but I try to collate all of the information I receive and then try to make an informed decision from there. I read a local website, newsletters like the Dainfern newsletter, the Lonehill newsletter. And, I also provide local information to these outlets.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 11: The news I consume has a broader reach, and because I am invested in the community and know what is going on, but I would definitely say the news has a positive overlap.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 11: Well, because I am out on the community lines already, I would access it that way.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 11: To an extent it does. Some of the events I have not heard of.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 11: Yes, fairly often.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 11: No, because I am engaged in the area

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 11: Fairly often.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 11: Yes, it does.

RESPONDENT 12

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 12: Ya.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 12: I wouldn't [leave that community].

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 12: Ya, quite with Norscot, not really with the rest of Fourways because life is just too busy and you can't save the world.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 12: Ya, part of the communication and I take a yoga class.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 12: I don't.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 12: No.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 12: Ya, I think I will only make an effort to get it because of Norscot. I am just too busy and I just don't want to read through all those papers.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 12: Yes.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 12: The calendar.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 12: Ya, I think it would be difficult, then you would need national news. Otherwise just word of mouth and your friends. So ya, it would be a lot harder.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 12: Ya.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 12: No.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 12: No.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 12: No.

RESPONDENT 13

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 13: Oh very much so. Well, I've been a councillor for the past 15 years, I think the answer speaks for itself.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 13: I know that I get criticism, I get complaints but I feel myself capacitated to do something about it and I like doing what I do.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 13: Touch wood, yes.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 13: I know them. I know them quite well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 13: Ya, I am a member of the Rand Hunt Club, an honorary life member.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 13: Yes, every now and then.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 13: Oh very much so. It is very helpful.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 13: Look, a conscientious journalist often texts me or emails me to say, “We have a complaint about Joe Soap about X. Are you able to comment on it, please call me?” Ya, it happens, it happens. Maybe not as often as it maybe should happen but then possibly the junior journalists don’t know who the ward councillors are in any particular place, so I think that, you know when they join up, you should say, for these suburbs it’s that councillor, for these suburbs it’s that councillor.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn’t for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 13: No. I think they have a monopoly. Whether a monopoly is a good thing, I don’t know.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don’t receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 13: Oh yes, invariably I do. Invariably I do. It is informative.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 13: Well, I talk to my wife. I talk to my councillor colleagues, I talk to the residents associations, ya.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 13: No, because of the once a week thing, you know, it's not in real time.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 13: Look, you can't be everywhere but I think the coverage of big events is good. You know, you can't employ 100 people to go to 100 events.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 13: No, I think from that point of view I think the Review does play a very important role.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Respondent 13: No, I think I have said as much as can be said.

RESPONDENT 14

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 14: Yes I do.

Interviewer: What gives you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 14: I think just that I am here and I am involved in the doings and the goings on and to a greater or lesser degree I think I am accepted in the community and I think that helps.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 14: I really would not like to leave here.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 14: I would like to stay here for quite a bit longer.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 14: I know quite a few people in the greater environment.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 14: The Bridle Park Ratepayers, founding member.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 14: Yes. I went dancing when I saw the events. Yes, I do look for that sort of thing and if I am reading the paper I will go and see what's on and is there anything that I would like to go.

If I am looking for something to do I would most likely go to Computicket because that would be the place to find most of what's going on.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 14: I think it's the whole of. If I move to Cape Town, I wouldn't read the *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 14: I think it helps yes. The best way to get into the local community is to actually get into organisations and actually meet them and find out, meet your neighbours and talk to the community because, as I have said before, the newspaper doesn't print it all.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 14: No, I don't think so. I think it's a medium. I think unless they decided that they were actually going to start printing a little more objectively and actually what happens, but then I think it would take ages before anyone realised that hey, this paper is actually doing it differently, because the cynicism is so ingrained, it would take a long time before you could actually take at face-value what was printed, because you know you can't.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 14: You can't that's the problem, that's why it is such a big whole here because we don't get the paper so we don't get access to the publication. You know, the only other way that you get information now is that Sun Valley put out their newsletter which is completely skewed and it is totally censored and you just can't trust it and you know that your thinking is being herded down a path and it's one man's thinking and his opinion that's being expounded and it's actually dangerous. Reading that is actually dangerous. So, you can't. The only way you get to access information is through book clubs and girls groups and what-have-yous and get to know the people.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 14: Yes, I am on the Sun Valley and the Kyalami Facebook pages.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 14: If it's a matter that I feel strongly about, then everybody gets to hear about it. But also if I pick up, if I find something that I know is of interest to a friend then I will share it to them.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 14: No, I go straight to Annette [ward councillor].

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 14: I don't think I've ever seen them. Conspicuous by their absence.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 14: No. It's a newspaper.

RESPONDENT 15

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 15: Yes. As a small example. I've lived in a few communities as I have grown up. In terms of Bryanston, my husband and I have noticed where you go, if you support businesses, they tend to recognise you a lot so I think it inspires us to go back there more because you feel like home when you walk into a store and you know the staff and they greet you and that kind of thing.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 15: At this point we can't imagine leaving. My husband works all the way at UJ so he drives from here there because we were just so happy. We moved a year ago and we had the option to move out of the area and we actually just moved one road down.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 15: We are quite interested, we are often wanting to know what's going on. Now, with life changing a bit, we've got a little girl, she's one [years old], and so we're trying to get involved in more family activities, so we're always trying to find out what's close, because there is a lot where you can drive out and do other things, but this is our home so we would rather do things here.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 15: We know our neighbours quite well because we live in a complex and we are part of the homeowners association, so we do know our neighbours fairly well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 15: Well, we are involved in our homeowners' committee and we were involved in our previous one as well but in terms of clubs and that we haven't joined any specific ones yet, we are trying to, and sporting things, like

Bryanston Country Club, but I suppose we will get more involved as our little one grows up because there will be more things that she will want to attend, like if she wants to start tennis, we'll join a tennis club, and things like that.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 15: Ya, we've read about one or two events and then we've gone on to see what they're about.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 15: From my side, my interest in the school in the area, and not just our school in terms of where we stand against other schools in the area because it is a great platform for us to compare what we are doing right, what we are doing wrong, what we can improve on and get ideas and also where we can step-up our image, because we are a great school, so where are other schools getting that message across where we maybe aren't.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading the community newspaper?

Respondent 15: Ya, especially from a school point-of-view, we're not always sure what other schools are doing. That's our source in terms of seeing where we are in the competitive standing of things.

Interviewer: How could the paper fulfil the role better?

Respondent 15: It is fulfilling our interest at this point.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for the community newspaper?

Respondent 15: I guess our Facebook community pages but again, those are not easy to come by so unless someone in the community has referred us, they are not as easily accessible in the paper. The paper comes to our door basically and then we know about it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in the community newspaper?

Respondent 15: To my colleagues at the school it is quite a subject of discussion, we usually talk about it and then at home at a family basis, we also talk about what's going on in the paper. Sometimes from a school point of view but also from our own personal interest.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult the community newspaper to find out more information?

Respondent 15: Yes, especially on crime stories. It might not be something at a national crime level but you also think oh shucks I heard a car screeching and then we go and try to find out what's going on to try to find out. Either online or we just wait and see when the paper comes out.

Interviewer: How often do you see the community newspaper journalists at community events?

Respondent 15: Other than when we've requested journalists at events, I don't see them, not that I know of.

Interviewer: Does the community newspaper help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 15: I think it plays a role in our lives from a personal and school point-of-view. From a school, we like to know that the school is celebrated in the community and from a personal, it's good to know what's going on and it's cute to see all the little kiddies and what's they're doing, and you know the different

things, like when you see okay, there's a really good ballet practise right here in our community so when the time comes along, put that in the memory bank and think, we'll go there.

RESPONDENT 16

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 16: Yes, very much, they own me.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 16: Very. I don't want to go anywhere else and I think that speaks volumes. It's not the security thing because that sucks, it's really bad, but it's the sense of community. I don't think I have ever driven down my little stretch of road here and not said hello to anyone so, we have our little community involvement.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 16: Very well, but I do live in a complex so it's slightly different to having a wall and a gate, but we do know the community. Paulshof is wonderful, it really is.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 16: It's very important because I need to be hands on all the time. And because we have this and we are a non-profit and we have a section 21, our lease is for a Section 21 and through that you know there is an open field and someone may be interested in doing something else on it. So there is a constant battle, I need to be on top of it, and there have been many things in the past and they have been documented in the *Fourways Review*, so that's very important, probably priority.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 16: A little bit. I am more concentrated in what's happening in Paulshof, but like I said, if there's something happening here, Sunninghill is right here and Witkoppen and things happening in Kyalami. But it's still the close vicinity, only to our neighbours I would say. I don't know what's happening in Sandton and Morningside.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 16: Yes. It's just more Paulshof, so when we do our newsletter it's just for the immediate people in our community. The *Fourways Review* is larger than that. That's the difference.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 16: Yes, FreeMe. Definitely.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 16: Yes, we circulate information about what is published on our WhatsApp groups but then at our meetings we also discuss what should be brought to the attention of *Fourways Review*, because we want to include it. Not every time, but if we have events and socials and things.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 16: Every time we have one. I have not looked out and somebody's there and they weren't invited. I can't remember anything like that.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 16: Yes, it certainly adds to it. This is our newspaper and I think we all feel like that, I can't speak for everyone but if something has happened it is certainly included in the *Fourways Review*.

RESPONDENT 17

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 17: Yes, I'm ready to retire here.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 17: Very well. I have helped them with their ant problem. I know the codes of all my direct neighbours, I've got keys and a remote for all my neighbours and if their alarms go off then I will go into their property and phone them and tell them I am fixing it for them.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 17: Not really.

You know what I like is that everyone knows everyone. You know when I walked in I greeted everyone. You know and they [owners of restaurant] feel part of the community. And the reporter must feel that way too.

Interviewer: And so you don't use the newspaper to help you find your way around the community?

Respondent 17: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 17: The paper isn't keeping up with the community at the moment.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 17: Yes.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 17: Fortunately we are getting that from the paper but usually I just scan through to see what is said about Paulshof. You know sometimes it's almost like you are overcrowding yourself to know [about the whole community].

Interviewer: Anything you would like to add?

Respondent 17: By reporting on what businesses are doing for Paulshof and the residents supporting too. It's got to do with the support of the community.

RESPONDENT 18

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 18: Ya, I do.

Interviewer: What gives you think gives (or does not give) you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 18: Well we have lived here for so long and I am involved in community affairs. But there are probably some people who don't feel like that in Chartwell.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 18: Well, we are ready to go now, in the next few years, but that's not because of Chartwell, it's because of my age.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 18: I am on the committee.

Interviewer: And are you involved in the wider community?

Respondent 18: We liaise. Cedar Lakes comes to some of our meetings, like when we had JRA out here. And Farmall, we work quite closely with Farmall because they don't have an active committee.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 18: We've got great neighbours.

Interviewer: And in your neighbourhood as a whole, do you know a lot of people?

Respondent 18: Yes, you know because we have all lived here for a while, we know them well. Some of the new people, we don't. But we've started a street stake now, where we raise money, and on the last Friday of every month we have a social, where we get together and have a drink, and it's amazing because the new people come to that and have a drink.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 18: The Chartwell Landowners Association started, because we all used to be one but we needed something to sort out the water issues, so it was started, and that was about 40 to 45 years ago. And it has just grown.

When we had the sod turning, someone [from *Fourways Review*] called me for an update on the wetland and I told her then, we were still in the process of forming a conservancy. So that is still something that I want to do, is to do an article on forming the conservancy. We only registered it in the middle of June and we have only just had our first AGM, so we need to do a story on that.

Interviewer: Do you think you know more about the local community because of *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 18: I think so.

Interviewer: And if you didn't read *Fourways Review*, where would you access local news?

Respondent 18: *Fourways Review* is probably the only medium we have for local knowledge. We get letters from Gekco and the Rhenosterspruit, but you know they're not interested in the development that's going on in Fourways, we would know nothing about that if it wasn't for the *Fourways Review*. And the police, the security angle in the *Review* is very important.

Interviewer: And do you ever discuss what is in *Fourways Review* with your friends or your neighbours?

Respondent 18: Ya.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 18: Ya, I mean we have. Every year JRA publishes a list of roads that they want resurfaced, and you look at that. They haven't done our road yet, they have just finished Third Road, but we are still waiting for our road to be done. There are things that you refer back to. And it is for that sort of stuff that I would go back to. The sort of factual stuff.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 18: Only if we have invited them. Or if Matome [ward councillor] has invited them for his photo opportunity. He is quite open about it, I've got to have so many [media hits].

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 18: Yes, I think so, and that's a general opinion. I would be quite sad if it wasn't around.

Interviewer: Anything else you would like to add?

Respondent 18: Sometimes I would like to see some of the issues taken up further by somebody who is not biased.

RESPONDENT 19

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 19: Definitely.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 19: Oh, wouldn't leave.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 19: Very.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 19: I'm the member of Save the Children South Africa, member of the Greater Johannesburg Welfare Social Services and Development Forum, Magaliessig Action Forum.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 19: I've gone to things, but I haven't joined any clubs. They were also reported in the MAF committee.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 19: Yes, I want to pick up *Fourways Review* to find out what's going on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 19: Yes I do, definitely.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 19: Well, I would go to LRA I suppose and find out what's cooking there because we have good contact with LRA. Talk around but it's quicker going here [to the newspaper] and through the CPF, I personally am not a member but we have contacts there.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 19: Not specially, not unless it applies to us specifically.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 19: No, never thought of it that way. I would just go and ask the guy digging at the hole.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 19: Not since we have asked them. One journalist came to, now when was that, it must have been at the beginning of last year, where the police station on the corner and that journalist came to that, that's when I first met her and the cops were there with horses and stuff, so that was quite fun. And then we have invited *Fourways Review* but as I say, that journalist, I thought, messed up at our community braai.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 19: Oh yes, it's by reading and knowing what's going on and sometimes you find out things that you never knew were going on, and I think it's important, particularly in the area in which we live that we do build a community spirit because it is through the community that I think we could build quite a lot. But if you sit and complain, and don't use your hands to do something, and expect government to do it all or expect council to do it all but they will help those that will help themselves, and that's the way it should be. Anyway, that's my personal philosophy.

RESPONDENT 20

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the Chartwell community?

Respondent 20: We do, I myself went to hand out invites to the 4th of September opening, so I did have to go to homes around here, and we have

exceptionally nice neighbours. We have a farm here, two doctors who live outside my window, down at the bottom we have a couple who have abandoned dogs, so a really soft-hearted people, with donkeys that they rescued from Soweto. The whole time we were building the wife came here and she brought us cake, just to welcome us to the community, and the husband came here wanting to do boreholes and whatever. We've had a lot of interest from our neighbours as to who we are, and in fact they joined us on our 4th of September opening, so they want to know as much of who we are and what we are doing here. They have made us feel very welcome here. So it's been a positive and we're supported here. When I say open day, it was actually our 25th birthday, so some of them came as well. So they are very nice. Some of them were here as well for the nine months when we were building here. Maybe it is because we have special needs kids, they have softer hearts, I don't know. And we're not that sort of school. It's very quiet, you don't even know we're here. The only thing is that someone came in here to complain about cars driving up the road really, really fast up and down here, and maybe it is teachers trying to get to work on time, but that wasn't a neighbour, it was exactly like this *points to front page* to say you know people are driving like hooligans on this dirt road here, you could hurt people who are walking up and down the road. Otherwise we are really welcome here.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 20: No, we will never leave, we will outlive the neighbours that are here. We are here to stay, and we've got support from them. The Chartwell North Residents Association is very supportive of us, they ask us what's happening, so there is an exchange of information, so we feel very supported. We are lucky.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 20: I don't know of anything else [other than the Chartwell North Residents Association].

Interviewer: How did that come about?

Respondent 20: It was just with them coming here, saying to us, who are you, what are you doing here? It started with them coming here to the fence at the bottom while we were building, and then us eventually going across to them and saying hey, come to our official opening, and building from there. My business manager was here first while we were building and so he started the relationships and probably kicked open the doors. I moved across in January, the school only moved across in June, so I had as a result of him starting the relationship, built the relationship and it built on from there. It's been awesome.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 20: Your crime, things like what I've heard about the fibre optics. I'm not involved in the IT set-up of the school, but the person who is and who works very closely with me in marketing, so that's how I get updated. She reads those newsletters and gets updated on where they are, where the residents' association is, because that would relate to the school in terms of us getting set up.

Interviewer: Has there been a time that you have wondered what was happening and made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 20: Myself, personally I would probably go here *points to *Fourways Review* newspaper* first, because I relate this to finding out what is happening in the community and my brain has been accustomed as a source of what is happening in my community. Even though that would be a source direct, I wouldn't think of that being at first, I would think here. I have been using the *Fourways Review* for so long for what is happening in my community that it has become a habit.

Interviewer: Have you ever seen something in the community and it has made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 20: Yes, there was something that I had seen in the paper, there was a church, there was a collection point. Kya Sands had had a fire and I got the information from the paper and I was able to get stuff and go and drop it off, because the majority of the information was in the paper, so it started off with something on Facebook and I was about to get the information from *Fourways Review*. In actual fact, I was able to scan in the article and gave feedback to my family, just to show them a picture that the paper had taken of them delivering there. It just proved that the paper was up-to-date with what was happening in the community that they were able to feedback the information provided.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: Yes, definitely. I don't know about any other news, other than through *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: No.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 20: Yes, definitely. Henry and I swap notes about what is happening quite often. He is our bursar. "Did you see this is what is happening?" And again, it is going back to crime. Sometimes I won't see something and he will ask me, "Did you see that?" and then one might reference back to it and actually go and read the article. We have actually had quite a few conversations about what one of us has read.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 20: No. But in fairness, I don't go out much.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 20: No, I think it is a good conversation topic, so it definitely benefits the entire community in terms of the information that you take away for yourself, as well as the information that you share. So it is a good word of mouth tool, not just beginning or ending in the paper. People like to be informed, even to the point that they are sharing something else, because people care for one another.

RESPONDENT 21

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 21: Yes.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 21: Well, you know, no, I wouldn't be sorry because I would probably do the same there because I will get involved, because that's the way I am, and make a difference, you know, you have to have these people in life.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 21: Yes.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 21: Very well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 21: CID I am on the liaison. Yes, I am involved in committees, I am involved in community thing, I am involved in the Beverley Ratepayers – I do most of the posts.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 21: No.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 21: Yes, definitely, absolutely. Like I said, often I take the *Fourways Review*'s electronic posts, I copy that link and I throw it onto my pages, you know the district. I want to spread the news, that's what I like, that's just me.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 21: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 21: No, just *Fourways Review*, because I am involved in the other things that interest me so I know what's going on in the developments with *Fourways Review*, I know that a franchise is coming here, so I know what's going on.

Interviewer: So that is not from reading anything else?

Respondent 21: No.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive otherwise?

Respondent 21: Yes, they fill the gap. Yes absolutely. Look, if I want to know international, Twitter. I don't watch the news on TV. *Fourways Review* for local news, for what I need to hear and see. Because you know what? The *Fourways Review* often gives me ideas for business opportunity. Right now we've got a water shortage. My head is already going there now. I am already thinking what can I do with water? So, watch this space. I am going to call a journalist soon.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 21: Only when it's got to do with me. Then I say, listen, read the paper, something's going to be in there.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 21: Only on the electronic. There is the related articles, there.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 21: Well, whenever I'm, well, because I am involved in the community, I always see them, and if they can't we just send articles in. Yes, I see them.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 21: Yes, *Fourways Review* has become a family, you know it's like your other arm. You need to get the paper and see what's going on. I enjoy the "What's going on in Joburg" [online articles].

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Respondent 21: No.

RESPONDENT 22

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 22: I think that the majority of what I get, the emails from the employers, you have no idea what you've done, you've no idea how much our domestic has done for us.

It's really good, because the community trust me, and a good 90% of them believe I am doing my job. I am not looking for accolades. I just want them to know that I have a service to offer that I think is of value. I even watch my own domestic when she comes, and she says she learns a lot.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 22: I've got snotty neighbours.

It is very difficult to sustain this without Caxton. You know, I have 68 bulk mailers. I just add, and keep adding, just to get the message out, because there's a recipe to everything that you do in life and once you've got that recipe right you've got to stick with it.

Interviewer: Other than this organisation, are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 22: No, I was on the CPF and they "bullied" me into this work, because that's what, I started by training the police there. I started by training the whole of Linden and then Parkview and the CPF of Parkview contacted me

and said you doing something right, what is it, and she said well it's her, because my customer service workshop is very good, it's eight-out-of-ten. I have trained over 400 of the flying squad. A company ran a golf day for me. I get them to do role playing.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to try to reach different or other areas?

Respondent 22: I think good news travels slowly, bad news travels very fast, and I think it's really based on word of mouth and the paper. I can tell you, I've had two phone calls from a doctor and professor, in Northcliff, who want to see about the meetings, but it's purely because of the newspaper, the *Northcliff Melville Times* or the residents' association spreading it on their WhatsApp group.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 22: Definitely. I take them out, I have a folder and anything that I think is critically important, I put them into folders and put it in there.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 22: The only thing I watch on TV is my soaps, but I need to be kept abreast of what's going on, and sometimes the domestics themselves will bring me other newspapers which also helps me too. There was an article on two domestics who had cleaned out a house. A domestic worker called me and told me, there is an article about these two domestics, I know where they are. He said, I phoned Captain and he said what's your name, he said, I'll have to phone you back. They are listening to me because I always say don't divulge who you are. I told him who to contact many, many times. I then told him who to call.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 22: Oh absolutely. I have a responsibility to.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 22: Not often, but I think Sun Valley does.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 22: Yes, I think so. I feel as though I am connected to what's going on, and I feel like I need to be connected to what's going on. You can't swan in and not know what is going on in a suburb. You know, no matter what the challenges are. It could be like in Fairland, where it is a small police station, because it is small, doesn't mean there is less work. Because they are small, they are faced with very big challenges. You know I spoke to my physiotherapist and he said, boy does Northcliff need your help. You see, I feed off all of these things [information].

Interviewer: If you didn't have the local papers, how do you think the domestic watch would be supported?

Respondent 22: Can I tell you in Rosebank, when it wasn't in the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette*, the attendance when from 70-80 people to 10, because there was no article in the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* for a very long time. Saxonwold I am down to 10, Morningside I am down to 10, Parktown North I closed, Kelvin I closed, Craighall has just rocketed, Parktown West I walked away from. There's no question about it. The moment it goes into the *Rosebank Killarney Gazette* my numbers increase. Wherever the article is, the numbers increase. There is no way to say how grateful I am.

RESPONDENT 23

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 23: I do. I'm a faithful sort of guy in that sense.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 23: I would be very sorry. The area, above and beyond the influence the paper has on it, is a growth environment. Yet you can go down the road and come to a monstrosity like this [shopping centre], so it's got everything.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time?

Respondent 23: Until they carry me out in a box.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 23: Not as much as I should be. I read a lot but I haven't been as reactive to some stuff as I should be. It may just be the old usual excuses of it not being a priority or work pressure. It's just a question of a bit more commitment to get involved.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 23: I do, fortunately. We have a small little close that we live in. One of my neighbour's kids comes to soccer all the time, and we are in touch because the beauty of any estate is that you just pick up the phone and maybe say, look I am going away, could you maybe just keep an eye on things. They are all there.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 23: On the soccer committee.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 23: No, not really, no.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 23: To a large extent, especially on the committees, because not only does it give us an idea of what's going on in our own estate, in our own home, but I have a little townhouse in Paulshof and I still want to know what's going on with the property market. It is a big factor.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 23: Very much so.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 23: Newsletter and publications like an estate newsletter which gives a very limited view of what's going on in the estate, but without the Review, you don't know what's going on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 23: No.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 23: No I am bad in that way, like here on Cedar Road, we've got that roadworks after the shopping centre, which doesn't affect me, but those poor people in Dainfern, they had that and they had that on the R511. I think it's just such a small voice in such a big project, and it's terrible to say this, but maybe I just haven't been bothered enough to say anything, but it bugs me, definitely bugs me.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 23: Outside my estate, and maybe it's something to look into, but I've never gone to a supermarket and there's a stand there with *Fourways Review*. If I've missed it, it's my fault but maybe it's an idea, unless it's a cost issue, but maybe it's a good idea to get it into supermarkets, like a shopping centre. Outside a pub.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 23: Absolutely, that's why, the best thing that's happened to them is that nobody has opened up an opposition paper. But I would say, that if there was something in there that was completely wrong, I would report it and say you guys are crazy, you are talking about something here that you haven't investigated and I will refer you to someone who knows better, but I haven't come across that.

RESPONDENT 24

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community? What does/doesn't give you think gives (or does not give) you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 24: Yes definitely. I feel I am very updated as to what is going on in the community.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 24: I would be devastated. I really do love our country even though we have some serious issues that we need to address.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 24: Yes, I feel at home with my community. Also, I have many friends and family in the community.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 24: Very, I also try and get involved with charity events to help the community.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours? (How often do you speak to them?)

Respondent 24: I speak to them about twice a week.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 24: Yes, Action netball and boxing.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 24: Yes, I have joined a boxing gym and met and made many new friends in the community.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 24: I am always interested in what is going on and therefore read the paper often.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 24: I get most of my information from the *Fourways Review*, unless my friends or family are involved in an event, incident etc.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 24: MyJoburg.co.za, word of mouth, social media.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 24: Yes, social media

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 24: Yes

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 24: Not often - it really depends if there is a feature of interest.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 24: Never

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 24: Never

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 24: Fairly often

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 24: Yes they do. By always reporting and covering local news and events I feel that I am always in the know and therefor have a sense of belonging to my community.

RESPONDENT 25

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 25: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 25: Very sorry. In fact, I am finding it quite hard to cut the umbilical cord.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 25: Very well, I probably know about 40 people very, very well, in that I speak to them once a week and I probably know another 60 people fairly well.

Interviewer: So, I know you are on the Sun Valley Residents' Association committee. Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 25: Yes, it certainly does.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 25: It's a big factor.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 25: Yes, the greater community. I think the issue here is that we want to know what's happening in Sun Valley, and we lose track of what's happening in the rest of the area, which impacts on what we're doing, which is related or similar, sometimes pre-empting what we still have to know.

Interviewer: So, that brings me to my next question, to what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 25: Yes.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 25: I would imagine mostly through social media. That would be my first call. Maybe news groups.

Interviewer: Does your community newsletters or social media pages supplement the news you read in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 25: Yes.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 25: Yes, it is often a different point of view. Sometimes social media will give you a more in-depth point of view than what you would get in another newspaper, so it's not a constant, it's not necessarily always supplementary.

Interviewer: How often do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about local issues and consult *Fourways Review* to find out more information?

Respondent 25: Probably almost every day.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 25: Not necessarily in that order. I wouldn't use it as a reference necessarily. Although, having said that, scanning back issues sometimes is important to get additional information. But to add to that. The search-ability, is not particularly good. It's not an easy way, I mean, you can search by keywords but it doesn't always come up but you can't search by category, there's not an easy way of being able to access archives, so I think that would be easy, and say, what has come up, on this subject in the last two years and try to get it. So, although I do use it for reference, it's not easy and the searching is not particularly easy. If I know what publication it was in, I can go in and find that publication, but I can't say, "Comments that Annette Deppe has made in the last two weeks or two months about whatever, IDP process", nothing would come up and that's quite useful to have those meta-tags. Also, we got used to it as well. We got used to the fact that we can access archived information through meta-tags. It's not particularly useful to build that in. It's just a matter of recognising that you need to be able to create that intelligence for your software.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 25: Not as often as I think they should be there.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 25: Add on.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Respondent 25: I think that pretty much sums it up. Editorial holding people to account, searchable archives, and if you needed to say how could we get our readability up, I don't know what the audience is, so I don't know what the education level is, if people want to see what the movies are, that's not my go-to or that kind of thing, like to have more restaurants or whatever, I've got tools to find that. I'm not really looking for that. I'm looking at what you already have, rather than a whole lot of more stuff.

Because the narrative of our officials today is that "I don't know", how can they not know? How dare they say that? They should be held to shame, so the follow-ups are essential. You've got to say to the guy that we're going out on Tuesday and to state there that they couldn't give a response, which we found strange or pathetic – you can dress it up or down as much as you want to but at the end of the day, people pick up those subtleties. I mean, what's up with the change of the speed limit on Main Road? There's a lot of accountability that these people need to have. Why would you change the speed of a beautiful dual-carriage way when a couple of piss-cats drove into the bank at the back? I know the ward councillor is protecting it as if it were his baby, so [the paper should] say, "So, then, of the accidents that have happened, 200m from the intersection?" The follow-up is important. How did that get passed? Why is it reversible? So, that's a good example of saying that *Fourways Review* are going to get a lot more violent in this, people are unhappy, it's unreasonable, it

defies logic, the residents are demanding a regress from the City, and the ward councillor must keep defending his point of view, and the paper must keep questioning him. It's a good example that has happened recently, the community are very unhappy about it, it defies all logic, and the councillor stands up in defence of the City. What the hell? If he's an elected councillor, he should be following the sentiment of his electorate, and he's trying to shut up the electorate with logic, and his logic isn't right. The paper can do a hell of a lot more, but it is tough with quality of people.

RESPONDENT 26

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community? What does/doesn't give you that sense of belonging?

Respondent 26: Yes, particularly Magaliessig. I'm out on the road every morning, before 6am walking with my cane, greeting all the people on their way to work and having conversations with some of them.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 26: To leave it, I would have to have a very good reason.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 26: Well, we are in a complex so we know them very well. There are only six units. And the people you meet on the streets.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 26: Bryanston Sports Club, Probus Club of the North, I belong to the Catholic Church but I am not on any committees.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 26: Because of my background, no. In Witbank I was on ever organisation that you could know. Chamber of Commerce, big publicity forum, rotary, RNB housing committee. My wife said that's enough, when we move to Joburg we are not going to be on any more committees. My biggest problems is that having retired when I did I am frustrated because I don't have projects to do on a daily basis.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 26: In certain aspects. Certainly with the policing and that type of thing, yes. What is lacking is information about cinemas for argument's sake. I mean we like to go to a show once or twice a month and to go and have supper afterwards. Now, we are depending on the Sunday papers and buy The Star purposefully just to see what is showing. You people [*Fourways Review*] don't list anything on the entertainment page. Back in Bloemfontein, there was a paper with the centre page with the entertainment page with what is coming and what is showing. I think that would be a bonus in the paper because then people could say let's get the latest copy of the Review to see what is showing, what is on.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 26: Look, there's the problem of the paper being weekly. I mean, we get it on a Wednesday and say oh okay that is interesting or, I didn't see that there, oh that was on, I didn't know what was happening. The WhatsApp helps a lot. The radio and the TV in telling us about the traffic. Why doesn't Caxton get behind a campaign for traffic? The presentation here, the awards here, that should be in the paper. It's the publicity. Telling people about it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 26: Possibly friends, hey, did you see this or that.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 26: I wouldn't know what they looked like.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 26: No, but what I have always wanted to do is when I have seen all those street poles knocked over I have wanted to stop and take a photo and send it to the Review, but you can't stop your car. I am currently looking for a dashcam.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 26: I suppose it could, yes. Not consciously. On certain occasions when the articles are on things that I am looking for, like when we had the supermarket rebellion, then yes for things like that, you would.

RESPONDENT 27

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 27: Sometimes I feel like an antagonist in the community but ya, I do have a lot of property in the area so I do feel a deep interest and I think part of it, yeah.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 27: Sometimes I think my life would be a lot easier if I left the community but you know, I can't replace it anywhere else, actually, so I would be sorry.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 27: It depends on how our government treat our land, you know, I think. I would hate to ever leave, but we might be forced to leave, just through politics. I think South Africa's in a very sorry state and I don't think we're heading, I'm concerned.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 27: Ya.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 27: Quite well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 27: Ya, I'm on the Beaulieu board, I'm a member of Gekco and the other professional associations but clubs, no I'm not a club person.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 27: Yes. They've exposed a couple of shows which has encouraged us to get up and go to them, and we like shows and theatre and it's encouraged me to buy a couple of books.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 27: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 27: I think just by chatting to neighbours. I think that would be the only way that you would find out what was going on. If we didn't have a community newspaper, the major papers don't cover the stuff that is going on in our area so it does seem to be a stable environment, relatively stable, I have friends in different industries so it would just be through chatting, so, heaven forbid we don't have the local paper, I think it's important, ya. And generally residents' associations I tend to find, are sort of inward looking so rather looking at all the developments, so not from them either.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 27: Ya, about the security or if it's something that's happened.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 27: No, but, particularly with what we are doing now, I am hoping that when we get the paper there will be something in there related to that.

But for example when a star comes out to a show I am hoping that I will see something on it and that's what they don't have a lot of, once the shows are on, they don't have a local critic who will say how the show was.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 27: I don't know them so I don't know. Now that I know one journalist, I would recognise her. Sometimes I have been speaking at events in that area and someone has said well we had Caxton there and I didn't know that person so, I didn't know.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 27: Ya. Well also, I have tenants in properties and some of them are from overseas, particularly for big corporates, and they want to know what's going on, I will tell them if they see the newspaper by the side of the road, pick it up, and it's free, just to help them and I think that's also where it is a great help, for foreigners to tell them what's going on. How else do you get the info if you are a foreigner? If you are a foreigner and you want to know what's going on, if you're in a corporate, the corporate may tell you what is going on or if you make friends, they may tell you not to walk the streets at night, but how else are you going to find out? That's where the paper is hugely useful for people who move into an area and want to know what's going on.

Interviewer: Do you think the newspaper gives enough of those helpful tips?

Respondent 27: Not really, I mean, if you really read it you can see, there are problems in that area. One thing that I have noticed, if you put yourself in the shoes of a new person, but they don't really have graphic maps, or where Lonehill is, so that would be quite useful, you know, just the size of an advert, of which areas they cover. I don't know what areas it covers, I just know it's Fourways, Lonehill and Kyalami because I am in that area. So, if there is a story that says there was a shooting in Sunninghill, and someone says well I am new to the area, where is Sunninghill, they're not going to go and get a map book and where it is, whereas if it was there every week, it would be quite useful. It's just a template that is there, it shouldn't cost anything except maybe advertising space, which brings in money, or get one of the advertisers to sponsor it every month with their logo on it, then it's easy.

RESPONDENT 28

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 28: Yes.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 28: If I didn't live in Fourways Gardens, I don't think I could live in Fourways because it's just a rat race. I mean the roads are eternally under construction.

Interviewer: Do you expect to live in the community for a long time, and why?

Respondent 28: No, I can't wait to leave.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 28: So, I think ours is complicated because we are a micro community in a macro community, and because we are a micro community we have our own community. We have our own Halloween, we have our own Christmas, and so because we have our own micro community we don't feel the need to be part of the macro community, but for those that don't have that I think certainly have that need to be part of the macro community. I think the way we live, community used to always be a thing but it's becoming more and more apparent that you need people around you. You know, we can't raise our children on our own, they need friends, they need community so I think it's vital for a community to have this kind of infrastructure.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 28: I know them fairly well.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 28: Our running club, which is in our estate, and obviously Think Community.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 28: Definitely go to events, join clubs no. I also find the photos of the arb people afterwards so irrelevant. Maybe those people like to see themselves but for us, it's like, oh really?

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 28: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 28: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: How would you access news about the community if it wasn't for *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 28: It would only be Facebook. And if you had to buy the paper would you buy it? No I wouldn't because I don't buy newspapers. But I wonder how many people would.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 28: Yes, because my mother has been in it and when I have been in it people tell me they've seen me.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 28: No. Actually, you know the intersection of Uranium the new robot. I actually sent it to one of the journalists the other day to say, you need to

do a story on how to obey this flipping robot because people don't. She says okay I'll look into it. That is relevant for me, just to educate people. But to some people it doesn't matter.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 28: I wouldn't know them if I fell over them.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 28: Ya, because it keeps you informed of what's going on around you.

RESPONDENT 29

Interviewer: And how would you access news about the community without the local newspaper?

Respondent 29: You wouldn't, unless it came via your kid's school or something like that.

Interviewer: How do you supplement what is going on in the area?

Respondent 29: It's very difficult to get that information but through your ratepayers associations, but even there people are very apathetic. People like to complain about what's not being done but won't come in to dirty their hands. They don't foresee that side.

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 29: I think it's important to know that you're part of a community, you don't get involved for people to say, "Oh look at Syd Land, he's doing so much." If that was my motivation, I think it would be very sad. You know you are involved in the community for a lot of reasons, not for self-motivation. Same as

being on the club's committee, if you're not prepared to spend the time, don't get on the committee. I don't want people to get into committees so they can boast to everyone.

Interviewer: Why do you get involved?

Respondent 29: Yes, it's to try and help out but also to put something back into the community. You don't get anything without putting something in, and you don't get something out without putting something in.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 29: You know, the older you get is what are you going to do when you retire. My and my wife's philosophy is that our friends are here.

Interviewer: How interested and involved are you in the happenings in the community?

Respondent 29: I've been involved, I have had to realign now that I am back in full-time work but I get involved. I am very involved in the club, which was taken for a lot of money a couple of years ago and every little bit of help we can get with the paper is helpful. I think it's important for people to get involved whether they are on a committee or whether they are just helping out in their communities.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 29: That unfortunately is a trait in this country where you don't know your neighbours because you've got your walls. You greet them but you're not house friends. I still like to know that I have that choice. But I think it's important that you do know your neighbours.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 29: Yes, it does tweak you. I think the editorial should get that response and if it's not getting that response, then there's something missing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 29: Yes.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper help to fulfil this role slightly better?

Respondent 29: I think it's an evolving situation. You've got to come up with new innovations. You've got to make it attractive.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 29: Yes.

Interviewer: How often?

Respondent 29: It depends on whether it is of interest or not.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 29: Yes, I think that's important. We're the eyes and ears of the community. If you're not reporting in or saying to the reporter, here's a lead, for no other reason other than that I think it's news worthy, so I think it is important.

Interviewer: How often do you see *Fourways Review* journalists at community events?

Respondent 29: We don't see them that often and I think a lot of the fault would lie a lot with ourselves because we don't let the paper know what's going on. We can't expect the journalists to come and knock on the doors every time.

If I want to promote my club, I've got to convince you that it's newsworthy. If not, you'll say, "Sorry".

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 29: I think personally it does help when you do get involved like I have around the rivers. When people say I saw you in the newspaper, the question is, what did you get out of that article. You didn't just see Syd Land, Syd Land was saying we have a problem and we've got to get that message through [in the newspaper].

Interviewer: To what extent do you think the newspaper gets those messages through?

Respondent 29: I think they do quite a nice job in getting that message through.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think it is your interest in the local area that makes you want to keep up with news?

Respondent 29: I think it's a natural thing because any specific news that comes out, positive is always good, but negative is just as good because if you know what's happening you can go and say I'm putting my hand up and try to help. If that isn't brought to people's attention, how do you do it? That is one of the main aspects of the local newspaper.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Respondent 29: No.

RESPONDENT 30

Interviewer: Do you feel a sense of belonging to the community?

Respondent 30: Very much so, and that's what we want to drive, but I don't think it is anywhere near the level that it should be promoted as it should be by community leadership, and this *points to *Fourways Review** needs to be a community leader. I think community leadership falls far short of stimulating community loyalty and that's going to be your marketing line, *Fourways Review* is about community leadership and it's failing dismally, as are most community leaders.

Interviewer: How sorry or pleased would you be to leave the community?

Respondent 30: That pre-supposes loyalty to your community and I think the world has changed. I don't think there is any loyalty any more, and I think the example I am shown is that people will build a community that they want. I think community leaders think that they have built the most fantastic community and all they are doing is blowing smoke up their behinds. It's about constantly tweaking and constantly making it the community that I want it to be. I couldn't care less if I moved into another community and looked around it and if it had what I needed. I think that despite what we have put into this community it shows the support structures are weak.

Interviewer: How well do you know your neighbours?

Respondent 30: If I had to give a one out of 10, I would say three to four. But I don't live in their pockets.

Interviewer: Are you a member of clubs, organisations or committees in the community?

Respondent 30: Yes with Think Community.

Interviewer: Has reading the community newspaper influenced you to join such clubs, organisations and committees, and influenced you to know your neighbours? If so, why?

Respondent 30: No, because it's not pre-emptive enough in those things. I think you tend to read that an event happened last week and you think, ah, I would have been interested in that. It's reactionary rather than announcing that these things are happening.

Interviewer: To what extent does your interest in the area and the decisions that are made for the area, make you want to read the community newspaper?

Respondent 30: It's because some idiot throws it on my stoep and I am forced to pick it up just to see if there is anything of interest but, no, it's not a compelling read.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know more about what is happening in the local community from reading *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 30: I think it's an important interest and that's why I glance at it. And if it didn't exist, someone else would step in to fill that gap.

Interviewer: To what extent *Fourways Review* fulfil a gap in the news that you don't receive by reading social media or newsletters?

Respondent 30: I think *Fourways Review* should be doing that but I don't think it's doing its job. I don't think it's a big enough influence as ears on the ground, but ya, I do look at it to try to pick up on any gaps, and then I find a major community meeting was held last week and the community was apathetic and only 10 people arrived, but hey, *Fourways Review* didn't tell us. Don't report to me apathetic communities and then the newspaper hasn't communicated to me that there was going to be a meeting.

Interviewer: To what extent do you speak to your family, friends or neighbours about the news content in *Fourways Review*?

Respondent 30: In the last year, no.

Interviewer: Have your discussions with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues ever made you raise questions that you have then consulted *Fourways Review* to find the answers?

Respondent 30: No, that's like going to a two-year-old kiddie and asking them what is going on. No, there's not enough information for that. It's certainly not a medium that I believe helps you to answer questions like that.

Interviewer: Does *Fourways Review* help you to feel a sense of belonging to the community? And if so, how?

Respondent 30: No, it's about the specials. If you want to pull my attention, make the news attention-grabbing.

APPENDIX G: TRANSCRIPTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR SUB-PROBLEM THREE

JOURNALIST 1

Interviewer: How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 1: It's just over three years.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions on the newspaper and if so, what were they?

Journalist 1: No.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 1: Well I was a journalist-slash-sub-editor at SAPA for about nine years where we did sports journalism and then we also subbed on the desk, you know, that was part of our job.

Interviewer: Do you have a degree or diploma, and if so, what field is it in?

Journalist 1: A diploma in journalism.

Interviewer: Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 1: *North East Tribune* area, Lombardy East.

Interviewer: To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 1: No, no, you know what, I think all the communities are just about the same. They've got the same concerns, you know crime, potholes, it affects all the communities, so really it seems there is a lot of cross-pollination, if I can say that, between communities, so they all seem to have the same problems, although maybe some are unique to *Fourways* than to where I live, you know

there's different standards of living, you know, maybe the standard of living is higher in one place or maybe there are problems that affect them but it's across the board in all communities, especially in the community papers, you know they've all got the same problems, you know, basically.

Interviewer: To what extent do you participate in community events?

Journalist 1: I don't hey, I should, I feel bad, but I don't. You know what, I don't get involved, you know from work, we're too stressed and tired to get involved in other stuff, we should though, I feel that I should go to at least some meeting about the community.

Interviewer: How often do you interact with *Fourways Review* community members?

Journalist 1: No, no, we don't really get involved in that, it doesn't really involve us.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you?

Journalist 1: Well, it's got to be something that has to do with that area, not to do with something else, outside of that area. Area-based, it's no use people complaining about something that happens in Sandton, if they work there, but you know they live in Fourways. Obviously if it affects the area and the people around it, I suppose.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe your news values are in line with the fellow staff members on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 1: Ya, I would hope so, because I mean that is what journalism is about, you know, looking for the correct angle that the angle of the story must be related to the area. It's very important. The angle of the story is very important.

Interviewer: How do you decide whether something is newsworthy?

Journalist 1: The angle is something that is going on in the Fourways area and somewhere in the story it says that it happened in Fourways, and blah, blah, blah, so angles are very important.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when sub-editing stories?

Journalist 1: Sometimes it can relate to something in the area you are staying in, you know you read something that has happened in Fourways and you think wow, you know, that has happened in my area, you know that sort of thing, I mean, you can relate to things that you know, something's happened in Fourways and say you know that happened in Lombardy East so you do think of you area as well, or say I wish that would happen in my area as well. I always think, you know, just for an example, like in the Fourways paper there was that lovely story of the whole Fourways community getting together to pick up litter and clean that whole Fourways Boulevard and you know, when I edited that story I thought, you know jeez, why can't we do that in Lombardy East, why can't we all get together and clean the litter around our area, because, as you know it's difficult. Or, the Jukskei River, I live close to the river, you know why can't we get the community together and go and clean the Jukskei for a day, so you know, it affects you, that's one of the things.

Interviewer: To what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding sub-editing stories?

Journalist 1: We've had a few stories, like a story on an estate agent and how good they are. You can see through those stories. I don't know if it is from pressure on the journalist or that the journalist is just putting it through because they're short on stories. But you've got to watch out for stories like that. There was the story about the estate agent, about how great she was, how long she has been in the area and what she has done for the area, and oh she's like the best thing that ever happened, it was just about her, her, her, her.

Interviewer: What do you do when you come across a story like that?

Journalist 1: No well I would query that. That particular story I read and then I said to the chief sub-editor, read this story, I mean read this story, I mean it's all about this lady and how brilliant she is. How great she is in the area, I mean she is an estate agent and she has been in the area for 20 years and she has sold up a storm, it was all about her and not about what she has done for the community, and I mean with that, you've got to watch out, because that's not going to benefit the community at all, it was just basically a self-promotion of how good she was.

Interviewer: Are there any dominant voices in the Fourways community, for example some people who you always see being reported on?

Journalist 1: No, no, not in Fourways. Other than the councillors, but I mean that's their job, but no, there's not some people that are always there on how good they are and what they are doing. I think we would pick that up.

Interviewer: Leading on from what you said previously, that a story about an estate agent would not "benefit the community", do you see that as the role of the paper and is that something that you look out for in the stories which you sub-edit?

Journalist 1: Ya, ya, I mean the story was all about her, but I mean, if it had said, and, she helped the Fourways SPCA, you know, she sold her R3 billion house and she is donating funds to the SPCA, then fine. I mean ya, if she is helping the SPCA and donating to charity, and fine maybe a little bit about her and then she is doing thing and that and picking up litter with the community, then fine you can allow for a bit of, you know, she is an estate agent in the area, you know, you can allow for a bit of self-promotion if she is doing stuff in the area.

Interviewer: What happened to the story?

Journalist 1: Ya, we bombed it. It was canned.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 1: Well, ya, I mean obviously you've got to protect children, that's a common journalism thing, to protect young children, not to name them. I think religion is a very touchy subject, you know with building a mosque, you've got to be very careful about that, with people. Obviously race is also a very touchy subject as well, you know, you can't say, try to get race out of it, to say the robbers were black, you know it paints a bad picture of the community if you say, you know there was a lot of crime and they were all committed by blacks, you've got to be careful of that and religion is a big one, you know complaining about people, you know, where they parked, where they go to church, I mean, that's a sensitive thing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you try to be more sensitive in stories for the community papers?

Journalist 1: I think so, I really do think that we as community papers, we are over-sensitive, maybe, we are over-sensitive because we are community papers. If your papers start marginalising a certain religion, you're going to start marginalising the community and then obviously there's going to be a bit of a to-do about it. Whereas a national paper is sort of provincial-wide, so there is no sort of stigma, you know they are not stigmatising any one person or one area, because I mean, our Fourways papers are for Fourways and we are building a whole thing around that, so if you start stigmatising religion or race or whatever, you are going to start marginalising your readers. I think sometimes, we are a bit oversensitive, I think, but maybe we should be. You know, we try to tread lightly, especially with religion, because we think oh but we don't want to offend that person, so I think we are but I think that's the nature of the business. I don't think it is just us. I think community papers worldwide would do that, I mean, they build up their communities and they try not to marginalise anyone in those communities, because it's a brand and you want people to read your papers, and if you are reporting that Muslims are making a noise in the mosque, you're

marginalising a whole portion of the community and they are going to say
raises arms in air.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 1: That doesn't even affect us and I don't think the subs should be involved in that. I think that stops at the news editors.

Interviewer: Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

Journalist 1: Well I think the first thing would be to talk to the journalist, to say, do you feel that this should go in. I think it's always a good idea to go and speak to the journalist and not to go and cut them out, you know, to just go and speak to them and to say, do you think it is appropriate and get their story. I mean, sub-editors too much take it on themselves to say you know, this is a no-no and this is not going in because of blah-blah-blah. I think it's good for a sub-editor to have a discussion with a journalist, and then, if you agree to disagree, then maybe go to the news editor and get another opinion, and then it depends on what side she or he takes and then if not, take it to the group editor and get the final. I think so, for very sensitive things, like dead bodies and that. Especially like community papers, you know, we don't want to become like one of these tabloids, I mean, that's not our goal, I mean also, it will marginalise people in the communities if you've got dead bodies, I mean, nobody wants to see that.

Interviewer: How often do such difficulties arise?

Journalist 1: No, I mean, we don't have a lot. We have the occasional crime story that's a bit gruesome, but I think, most of our papers, most of our stories are feel-good, let's face it 80 percent of our stories are feel-good stuff, you know, potholes being fixed and this one doing this for the community and charities and blah-blah-blah. I mean, that's what we should be like. We don't

want to horror stories, really, but I mean we've got to report, we've obviously got to report the horror stories that happen because people need to know.

Interviewer: Why do you think that we should report on the feel-good stories rather than the bad news?

Journalist 1: In my mind, that's what community papers are all about, it's about seeing the good that is being done in the communities. I mean, you don't want four pages of crime and people mutilated and dogs being, you know, I think that's going to marginalise the community, and I mean, that's not what community papers are about. But you do, I mean obviously need to report crime because it's what people want to know about, but I mean, you don't want four pages of crime with dead bodies and mutilated dogs or whatever, I mean I think it's going to turn-off your community, I think it's more feel-good than that.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Journalist 1: No, not often. I think it's also with the nature of the papers, we don't do a lot of contentious stories that are going to, so most of our stories are feel-good, community type of stuff. Every now and again, we've had a few should we do it, should we not do it, but it doesn't come up often in the community papers.

Interviewer: Can you recall an experience where you were pressured into not publishing or retracting a story due to pressures from community members or advertisers? If so, describe the instance and how the resolution was made.

Journalist 1: No. I think as a sub-editor, we are sort of between the two. I mean, I think the news editor would sort of feel the pressure, or the group editor. We are sort of in-between. It doesn't really affect us.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 1: No, it doesn't affect a sub-editor. The only think that affects us, is if a story is too advertorial, that's only what concerns us, but as far as the actual physical advertising goes, I am not even involved.

Interviewer: How often do you come across those advertorial articles?

Journalist 1: There are quite a few that people try to push through, which you can see it's just a punt for something.

Interviewer: Do you recall many of these stories from the *Fourways Review* team?

Journalist 1: No I'm not sure, but it happens every now and again with everybody, but I couldn't say.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 1: I can't recall. We do so many stories, it's hard to remember which paper. It might have been Fourways but I mean it has happened that you feel that the story's just not. But we do too many.

Interviewer: Are there any mechanisms that you use to publish sensitive stories in a way that will not upset the community? If so, what are they?

Journalist 1: Like I say, we don't get many of those, but I can't recall one where I have had to really change it. You do as a sub, try to take out comments that you might view as offensive or try to de-sensitise in that way, or take out a harsh comment because you know, it's not helping anybody and it's a bit harsh. You know, especially in quotes in that, where someone is having a go and somebody, you know, you do try to take it out or put it in a better way so it's not so harsh, or you paraphrase it. I mean, you do that sometimes but I mean there are a few instances, but it's only for a few, most of our stories aren't like that.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 1: To build it up and to know what's going on in the community. I think the role of the paper is to build it up and to feel that you are part of the community. We're not into the chop-and-horror stories. It's mainly feel-good and what's happening in the community and good stories and to know what's going on in the area.

Interviewer: How would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 1: Ya, no, at the moment I would say that it's very good. There are some good journalists on, good stories coming through. No it's good, it's one of the better sort of teams, I think.

Interviewer: How would you define your role in the Fourways community?

Journalist 1: I would just say that as a sub-editor, you don't want to marginalise anybody, so you have to be aware of the religion thing, and the race thing, so as a sub-editor, you have to look at it from that perspective. So, would the person, complaining about the mosque in Fourways making a noise, get both sides of the story but then, should you even publish it? I mean, maybe it's going to marginalise the whole Muslim community. Is it worthwhile? I think as a sub-editor, you have to make sure that you are not marginalising people within the community.

Interviewer: What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Journalist 1: Like I said before, when I read a story that happens in Fourways, it does remind me of my community. It's difficult. I don't see myself become part of the community. The stories do interest me, referring back to my community, you know I think, why can't that happen here? But ya, we do so many stories in a day that you can't really get involved in that community, because you are doing a Fourways story, then you are doing four Sandton stories and then you are back to a Fourways. I am sure if I was only subbing Fourways, maybe you would get more involved in the process, you know, because we are jumping

around so you don't really feel that you are part of the community, but you know, you learn a lot about it. You learn about what's going on. It's nice to know because, as a sub-editor, you know what's going on in every suburb, you know what's going on in every community.

Interviewer: Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Journalist 1: No, I don't see any one person. Not that I can recall, no.

Interviewer: Who would you say are the marginalised community members?

Journalist 1: No, no I don't think so, but, as I say, I don't know the Fourways community well, so I don't know how the community is broken up so it's difficult to say. I mean, maybe there aren't a lot of Muslims living in Fourways, but maybe there aren't a lot of Muslims, but I wouldn't know that because I'm not too sure of the population.

Interviewer: But you've never had a concern of who is represented in the Fourways stories?

Journalist 1: No, no and it's also very difficult to pick up if you don't know the area.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe the *Fourways Review* team aims to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 1: I think so, and I think the poorer communities have more stories to tell, you know, like Diepsloot, Fourways is big on Diepsloot, I know because a lot of stories come from Diepsloot because there is a lot happening there. You know, you don't hear a lot coming from the richer communities because they are all stable and everything's, but you do find more stories coming from the impoverished areas, you know, like Diepsloot and Alexandra, obviously because there is a lot more happening, there's a lot more crime, there's a lot more strife, a lot more bad stuff happening there because people are struggling and there's no hospitals and clinics. So it probably is right. I mean, you go to the

richer areas and there's not much happening there, I mean, one pothole, maybe a burst water pipe, you know, that's what's happening in the richer communities. A lot of Diepsloot, but you can understand it, because there's a lot of people in a small space and there's a lot of problems. So, it's interesting in a way. That's what I find, anyway.

Interviewer: To what extent do your own views of what is important for the community to know guide the stories that you report on?

Journalist 1: As a sub-editor, you've got to be very careful, especially of quotes, when someone is saying something about this person, and also, the word alleged is a very good word to use, we use it a lot. And "apparently", you know, it's never gospel, so I mean those are very important words. I mean, "He alleged that the music was loud in the mosque," I mean, you've got no proof, so "alleged" is very important. I mean, "alleged" is a wonderful word. It's always "he said"; "she said", you know. You can really marginalise people with that sort of stuff.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 1: Ya, I think it's in all the areas, people want to know what's going on in their community, you know, crime-wise, litter-wise, I mean, I think that's what community papers are all about, I think that's what people want to know, what's happening in their little up, especially with services, delivery services, service delivery. Very important. They want to know why their litter's not collected and why there's been water running down the road for seven days.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what you as a journalist/editor think the community ought to know?

Journalist 1: Ya, I mean, ya, the story's got to be of interest of everybody, not just one household that's having a problem with something. I mean, why would

everybody worry about the Jones' because they've got a problem on their little corner? Why would everyone be worried about them, if it's only affecting them? So, you've got to be careful that people want to put their little problems forward, you know, whatever their little problem is. You know, the journalist has also got to be aware of that, you know Mrs Jones phones up, you know, it's just their little problem, it's affecting nobody else, it's just them, and the reporter feels that they've got to report on them, but if it's not affecting everyone or at least a whole street or a good deal of the community, then it's not worth reporting on for the journalist.

Interviewer: What would you do if a story like that came through?

Journalist 1: I would go to the journalist and say, why is Mrs Jones' problem so important? It's only her problem, it's not affecting the community, or it's not got anything to do with anyone else.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 1: Definitely. The whole scenario changes with community papers, being community-based. On a national paper you can get away with more. You can get away with a lot more controversy because you're not marginalising a certain community so I think you can get away with a lot more, but you have to be careful with community papers, you've got to be really careful.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe the Fourways' community's expectations are being fulfilled by the community paper?

Journalist 1: I think so. What I can see in the *Fourways Review* is that there are broad stories. There's a lot of interest all-round. There maybe are a lot of Diepsloot stories, but I mean, that's understandable because it's a bad area, but I think that they are covering it well, in all aspects of it, like cleaning up the litter and there's horsey stories and ya, I think it's well covered, from what I can see.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you think could be improved on?

Journalist 1: No, no. I think they are getting nice stories out there. It's difficult as a sub-editor, you know, you are not seeing the thing as a whole, really, all the time. I think the news editor would know more because they're see the stories coming in all the time for that particular paper. As a sub-editor, it's difficult to get a full picture but of the stories I do, there seems to be quite balanced reporting of everyone in the whole community. So I think it's nice.

Interviewer: How do you see your role at the *Fourways Review*? Do you see it as a stepping stone to work at the larger national papers?

Journalist 1: No, no, I've got no ambition to work at a bigger national paper, to be honest. I like the community, I wouldn't mind working on a national paper but it's not an ambition of mine. It's nice, interesting stuff [working on community newspapers]. I don't know if I have a passion for the community, I've got a passion for stories, you know, the reading and how it reads. There's nothing like a well-written story, that's my passion. You know, it's not really community-driven, I just like a story that's well-written and make it read nicely. I try and make the stories read as good as possible. It's not the only role [of a sub-editor] but it's one of the roles. You know one of the roles is that the story should read with the best angle that's possible and all the legal stuff, that you're not marginalising anybody and that sort of stuff but there's nothing like a nicely written story, that there's not too much waffle and so someone can pick up the paper and say wow, that's a nice story.

Interviewer: How often do you try to change the angles of stories?

Journalist 1: I do, maybe a bit too much.

Interviewer: Would you make the change or would you send it back to the journalist to fix?

Journalist 1: No, I would send it back to the journalist and say, maybe you should do it like this, but I must admit, most of the journalists get the angle but

there are some instances where the angle is way off, and I would most probably suggest to the journalist, please make the angle that because I think that's the angle.

Interviewer: How much editing would you say you do in the Fourways stories?

Journalist 1: Well, it depends on the journalist but I don't want to name names. The Fourways team there are some not so well written stories but on the whole, it's not too bad. But there are some not so good ones that come through, but that's what it's all about. You'll get that on any paper, it's not just us, you'll get seven stories through and you'll get three bad ones, it depends whose writing it, but that's the job. If they were all perfect, we wouldn't have a job. That's why sub-editors were invented.

JOURNALIST 2

Interviewer: The questions are based around the research question of how the journalists view their role in the Fourways community.

Journalist 2: I do believe so, especially the conservation issue, we do give that a lot of attention and a lot of coverage, and one of the journalists does really well with the service delivery issues. I think, I'm not sure that the other two journalists relate to the service issues as much, well, both of them. I think for one of the journalists, her copy is just very factual, you know, that kind of thing, but I think their heart is not in the conservancy issues, the conservation, that type of thing. The third journalist I think is particularly unsuited. I would think that that journalist is better on entertainment and that side of things. The one journalist, I think is great for the service delivery issues because I mean he really does take it on and go for it. When a previous journalist was on Fourways, I really thought that she loved it, she enjoyed it, she related to the issues but yet she was still able to report fairly and objectively, even though she related to the issues.

Interviewer: What is your title on the newspaper?

Journalist 2: Chief sub-editor.

Interviewer: How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 2: Three-and-a-half years.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions on the newspaper and if so, what were they?

Journalist 2: Just sub-editor and proof reader and now chief sub-editor.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 2: News sub-editor for Daily Voice in Cape Town, sub-editor for various magazines and coffee books and stuff like that and also proof reading a lot of design.

Interviewer: Do you have a degree or diploma, and if so, what field is it in?

Journalist 2: Just experience.

Interviewer: Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 2: I live in Melverne and I have lived there for about three-and-a-half-years.

Interviewer: To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 2: I am ya, because that is really where I would rather be living, I would rather be living in the country. I do relate to the issues a lot, I have lived on small holdings with a little bit of small-scale farming. I suppose it could possible give me a disadvantage but I do feel strongly about the issues, I am a member of tree sisters and stuff like that so I am very into the environment, but I have higher expectations perhaps about the setting, maybe in that way I would sort of fantasise that it is better than it is.

Interviewer: To what extent do you participate in community events?

Journalist 2: I don't. I don't relate to my neighbours at all. Except for one thing, the Rhodes Park memorial, that I have.

Interviewer: Do you interact with community members?

Journalist 2: No.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you?

Journalist 2: If it is like environmental issues, service delivery issues, I mean that does seem to be the most important stuff that gets covered, and also the wildlife organisations and the pet rescue, and also the informal settlements, those are also a very important part of it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe your news values are in line with the fellow staff members on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 2: No.

Interviewer: Why not?

Journalist 2: I'm just not sure that they really personally relate to the issues that residents face. I think perhaps they are more city orientated people than environmental.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding what to report on?

Journalist 2: I think that's part of my job, which I think I am able to do with most of the publications and I think that's the role of a sub.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 2: For example, talking about another paper, like [North Eastern] Tribune, we do Yeoville and Hillbrow and so with that you really have to consider that angle, where they really like the gory, newsy stuff, whereas the Fourways people prefer the solution-based stuff.

Interviewer: Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

Journalist 2: I make myself think like one of the news editors who does not like anything gory and nothing too salacious so, you know like when I worked on the Daily Voice, the more gory it was, the better it was, but for community newspapers it is different and one does have to be far more sensitive, plus, we do have a lot of older readers, like old Biddy's, who like to complain, so one also thinks of that as well, and tries not to give offense to anybody, because, I mean I think with community newspapers, well, it has changed now with online, but I think with the community newspapers, things do need to be toned down and kept more civilised.

I think also part of a community newspaper's role is to encourage the feeling of community and so, rather than create splits, it's more about trying to create connections and bridges to build community.

The way we work it's a team effort. If I have a problem, I go to the news editor and we talk about it and we come to a mutual agreement, it's never a unilateral decision, which I think is really nice in this newsroom, but final say, I think would go to the news editor and then obviously the [group] editor if necessary.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 2: I really struggle with that, I mean one does have to consider advertisers because I mean we do have to bring in revenue but I think if a story warrants exposure, we should have the space to expose it but without being

overly sensationalising it, not being overly dramatic, but I think we should be able to report on it, as long as we do get comment from them, as the news editor always ensures we do.

Interviewer: Can you recall an experience where you were pressured into not publishing or retracting a story due to pressures from community members or advertisers? If so, describe the instance and how the resolution was made.

Journalist 2: We have had to on a few occasions. One that comes to mind is the Belfour Shopping Centre, where they are charging the guards and we are not really able to get the comment from people. And then there was another one that we reported on and we had an instruction on how to report on it from the branch manager.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Journalist 2: Not very often. I think we are all pretty much on the same page, but I am not really involved in those types of instructions that editors and news editors might be given so I mean the few times that I have had an issue with something, we have always been able to sort it out.

Interviewer: Are the pressures by advertisers or community members subtle or overt?

Journalist 2: I think there is a subtle pressure, but there always is in anything. I don't think it's, I mean, we are not that determined by our advertisers, but we are determined by our communities, so the pressure is on from them.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 2: It doesn't really surface very often, I mean it is mainly with Tribune, which is quite interesting. One was from a politician. I think pressure

also comes from when you've got more advertising than content and then you have to perhaps sacrifice some of your integrity to fill the space.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 2: I think we've got quite a nice balance, I mean a lot of the other community papers are really just ads, well, certainly where I live so I think we have, most of the time, we've got a fairly good balance and we obviously have got to strive to have as much editorial as we do have ads, so I think we manage to juggle that pretty well where there is enough content.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 2: I think more with pictures. I am sure there must have been one or two but they just don't come to mind.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 2: Well, certainly information dissemination, also, I think there also needs to be a certain entertainment value, so you enjoy reading the paper. I really think it's about letting the community know what's going on and you know, what's important to them.

Interviewer: How would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 2: I think *Fourways Review* does particularly well in that, I really do. Something that comes to mind now is the development that they are wanting for the Greater Kyalami and they've just done this survey and we're pushing it, we're not saying which way to go but I mean, we are giving them the space, bringing it to people's attention and I think that's great. I think this new thing that we've got of sending people to the website for more information is also great,

because we don't always have all the space but online there usually is more so if people do want more information they can access it.

Interviewer: How would you define your role in the Fourways community?

Journalist 2: Because I relate to the issues I think it's really just about getting information out there and allowing people the space to share their feelings and their interests as well as other things that are affecting them and also their response to the issue. I think we do manage to do that, especially with the one journalist, he gives both the entity and the residents' side in all his stories which is really nice.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant "voice" in the newspaper?

Journalist 2: I think some, for example ward councillors, some make themselves more available to the reporters so they obviously get more air space. I do find that if it's like an ANC/DA issue, the reporters always bring in both sides or the entity and the councillors side which I think is good.

Interviewer: Who would you say are the marginalised community members?

Journalist 2: I think the informal settlements, I mean we cover it but we don't really give them an angle. I don't think it's because of deliberate omission but I think it is perhaps very difficult to get comment a lot of the time and sometimes it's so politicised that it becomes a non-story then, so I think it's difficult to get, and also I suppose people are at work during the day, most people in informal settlements are trying to get work so it's difficult to get comment.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think the journalists aim to give the marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 2: I think they do, I do think they do. I mean we never publish anti-shack dweller stuff which is quite nice and I think it is quite a bone of contention for a lot of the residents in the area, however we never publish that sentiment,

which I think is quite nice. For example there was a story about a fire, Msawawa, and the residents reaction to the fire was lovely in that the residents on the other side of the river, watching these people's homes burn down and the unstable feeling, not being able to help, which builds bridges; and then also which I think is a lovely thing, a lot of the residents seem to, like if there is a crisis, create drives, collect clothes and food and stuff which is nice, so I don't know if the reality is a split on the ground, you know if there is a huge split or if it is really just extending a helping hand. They always seem to step up to the plate.

I wonder how objective it is if we really are trying to build bridges. Is it really that objective? I mean, because it does feel like there is a lot of attempts to reach healing across divides from the past and so are we only publishing those stories or are those the only stories we're getting, or are there stories of terrible bitterness which we don't get?

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 2: Yes definitely, especially with the racist stuff, if there is any reference to racism, I take it out because I think it's unconstitutional, I think we are breaking the law if we allow any racist statements through. I mean one could paraphrase it in such a way to show that there was animosity, and plus now with the new press laws, you don't say a "black criminal", you don't say a "white man", because all you are doing is perpetuating stereotypes.

Interviewer: How do you see your role in the newsroom?

Journalist 2: I see my role more as mentoring and gatekeeper.

Interviewer: How could *Fourways Review* be fulfilling your expectations better?

Journalist 2: *Fourways Review* is not as bad as some of them in terms of the journalists as some of them [publications in the newsroom] but in our office I

don't think the journalists are held accountable enough. It seems that if they want to give shoddy work, they are allowed to and that I disagree with because we are meant to be a training facility and we're not training them by allowing them to constantly produce half-cocked work. I think it's the standard of the work and the amount of attention to detail and following style and using spell-check and the basics of journalism just don't seem to be very important.

Interviewer: How could the newspaper be fulfilling your expectations better in terms of the content?

Journalist 2: I'm proud of the papers, I am.

JOURNALIST 3

Interviewer: What is your title on the newspaper?

Journalist 3: Sub-editor.

Interviewer: How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 3: One year and two months.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions on the newspaper and if so, what were they?

Journalist 3: No.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 3: Feature writer, full-time writer, journalist, I was an editorial assistant for a business magazine, I then went onto sales and was a sales consultant, I then wrote feature stories, I then went and wrote for newspapers and magazines on a freelance basis, Playboy, did a bit of blogging, online websites and that sort of thing, so I have gone through every aspect of the media field and have done every experience.

Interviewer: Do you have a degree or diploma, and if so, what field is it in?

Journalist 3: A degree from UJ.

Interviewer: Have you ever worked for a provincial or national newspaper? If so, what are some of the differences that you have experienced between such publications and the community newspaper?

Journalist 3: No, I haven't.

Interviewer: Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 3: I live in Hartebeespoort Dam, I have lived there for five years, I used to live in Joburg, and I commute on a Monday and a Thursday and I live on a farm.

Interviewer: To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 3: No, because I have lived in Joburg for 25 years so I know the Fourways community and in any publication, you will adjust and you will know your audience and you will know everyone, so it's about adaptability.

Interviewer: To what extent do you participate in community events?

Journalist 3: I used to volunteer at a pet adoption place and that's where I got my dogs from, I used to volunteer at the Komerant but I got fired because I was not bilingual. I would like to but there is not really an outreach. I am very involved in the online community, it's quite small but no one does much.

Interviewer: How often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 3: The only interaction is through reading their letters or opinions but no, there's no interaction on their side. But it's good to see the correlation between the articles written and the response given thereafter so you are seeing things and the interaction from a third point-of-view.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you?

Journalist 3: Well, with us, I am more of the younger, so my main value is message. I would kick it [a story] out because of copy-and-paste, I find that quite a lot, and journalists have actually forgotten the crux of why they are writing is to have a message, so it's all about message and about encouraging, even if the subject has not had a movement of action, it is the journalist to do that, to encourage them to interact or to go and take photos or what-have-you. So, it's all about message and purpose. I think look at flow and the intro. Although it is hard news and very short, I look at the comprehensiveness and the link-ability between the top and the bottom. I also look at the flim-flab and how much people like to waffle, we're a hard news story, you don't need to go on for paragraphs about this club or whatever. So, it's short, snappy, to the point, style. Yes, I do check grammar but for me, it's all about message, especially coming up in a generation where it's all about copy and paste. And facts, I don't want to hear about we don't know this or the police didn't give us that information. You know, when I used to edit, and I say that like I'm 90 but I'm not, we were forced to get facts and you were forced to get a minimum of five facts or you wouldn't get the story past, and for me, it's about seeing the errors and then changing it and showing the journalist to become better, but most important is message and purpose, and no copy-and-paste.

Interviewer: How do you decide whether something is newsworthy?

Journalist 3: A, the date and how recent something is and also how niche the subject is, so, if you're talking about a disability organisation that's really small compared to a residents association, look at the subject line as see how bigger or a broader market it actually speaks to. But ya, it's all about time, date and at the end of the day we are here to uplift the Fourways community so is it in line with the goals that we have set for the publication. Does it inform, does it encourage?

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding whether a story is news worthy?

Journalist 3: If the first sentence captivates me, you know, I find that a lot of the journalists will write the full crux of it at the end. There's been a new thing about quantity over quality, so, shorten it up, we're news you know. So if it interests me, it also depends on my interests, whether it is a good news stories, and the headline. It's all about headline and first sentence and creativity.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers and what they would like to read when deciding the newsworthiness of stories?

Journalist 3: Oh, yes, whenever I have been in a newspaper, I have always encouraged editors to ask for feedback. You know, we don't know the ins and outs, and it's about a community voice and the moment we start dictating to them, we lose our community voice. In my position as sub-editor, I can't dictate how to get that community in but I have always encouraged it no matter what, whether it's by surveys or whether it's by feedback.

Interviewer: Do you feel that you get that feedback at *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 3: No, because I don't ask for it, because I can't, because I am a sub-editor. But I think it would be great to see more feedback on a less intense letter. You know, our feedback is only on a letter where it's really cross or racial slurs. You know, where is the balance of, "Thank you for the article. Nice read."

Interviewer: Would you like to see those letters published too?

Journalist 3: Yes, I think I do feel we create fillers but maybe we should include snippets of people's feedback in-amongst the articles. Because it's like someone saying, oh my letter's published I will go to page 2 and omit every other page. Rather, have it more integrated, you know, allocate more time. But you know, I have been an editor before and have been involved in design and content, but you know, everyone has their roles and you know, I will just sit back and watch.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 3: For the *Fourways Review* is to edit the content so that it is presented on an online and print platform in the most grammatically correct manner. But also to help and assist journalists to become better journalists and not just for style and for what is on the paper but to actually do the role of a journalist. Go out into the field, take a little story of a little man or a little community and make it interesting. So, you know, it's just teaching journos that.

Interviewer: How would you describe how the journalists are fulfilling their roles?

Journalist 3: [Journalists] They are fulfilling quota but they are not fulfilling quality. You can see when someone is excited about writing something. When they can take a hard news piece and spin it in a creative manner and show enthusiasm. We are a training ground and *Fourways Review* allows for great journos to come up and build themselves but there needs to be more progression in their improvement but they are doing the best that they can, I just wish they were more open to come and sit and talk and ask for assistance.

Interviewer: How would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 3: I think it's good, it's very diverse. I think it connects to all different age groups as well and also it focuses on all different groups, you know the association, police, crime etc and I think the balance between good and bad is great, and especially the front covers. Sometimes you will have a bad story and sometimes you will have a good story. It's not about picking up the paper and feeling depressed. There are inspiring things and I think we try to produce and we try to produce articles to get readers in, but we also try to get them in on a positive note which is also quite unique.

Interviewer: What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Journalist 3: Well, at the end of the day, sitting back and being behind the lines whereas before I was in front of it as a journalist, I'm still connected, although it

may not be direct, I still look at the publication and know that it is helping, so it doesn't need to be a direct, "Hi Bob, let's have tea" which I have always loved, but it's nice to sit back and see things from an indirect way.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant "voice" in the newspaper?

Journalist 3: Yes, and that is a direct correlation with the new generation of journalism of the easy-way-out of the same quotes being done. Also, one would rather base a whole quote on Fourways police, while why don't you talk to a superintendent or the little man who was there so, I do feel that we can get more quotes and different perspectives, and when I used to write, I used to have five and create a debate within it. Here we are just relaying a story and saying this side, or that side or maybe sometimes both, so I think we could do a lot more to the journalists to go and be journalists and crack down on that phone, I mean the phones need to ring more and get different people.

Interviewer: To what extent do you aim to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 3: Not really marginalised but let's say, prioritised. People are given a list of the person to call and then they prioritise that list as to the person to call, but, you should prioritise who to call as per your contact with that person. Create your own thing of the contact with that person, etc, etc. So, it's a case of just reaching out there, not marginalised but prioritised in terms of your relationship. We do strive for it, we are good at it, but we could do so much more with it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 3: I don't think anyone ever does. The community is always changing, trends are always changing and it's up to the journalists to not only

write the articles but to be so embedded in the community that you know what is going on.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think that is reflected in the newspaper?

Journalist 3: Ya, no, like I say, I do. Like I say, diverse content, so we know what's going on but you will never know an exact community because it is always changing.

Interviewer: How much time do you believe the journalists spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what they think the community ought to know?

Journalist 3: Well, I think it aligns with their own purpose as journalist, their own style, what intrigues them. Yes, they are very accepting of the style and article content and for editors to go to them and to say, please do this article and it can be improved on them coming up with articles, but I don't know how their content is delivered, but I assume that 80 percent is given to them or is emailed to them. But they should be coming up with their own ideas so that they don't come up on print day with nothing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 3: I don't think it's dependent on national or community. If you're not the guy handing that person the paper and seeing their expression, you will never have that feeling, so I don't think it matters where you work for.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 3: I think that people are people in general, regardless of the newspaper or what they read. There's always the basic rules of journalism and sensitivity. It's like the man who took the photo of the baby with the vulture. You

know, as journalists we have to be empathic and ethical, no matter what platform we are writing for.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that *Fourways Review* is too sensitive?

Journalist 3: No, I think it has quite a fine balance. It has gripping content but not giving away too much.

Interviewer: How are difficult decisions regarding content made?

Journalist 3: I think it's also as the article and pictures go through their process of editing, people will have their say and then discuss because what might be sensitive to you might not be sensitive to me, so I think in terms of things being edited, that's how we can see our own sensitivity, just by working together and just working on the story.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Journalist 3: No, because I am quite open and truthful. No, there have been a few photos that I have seen of dead bodies or of dustbins and I have made a point to say no, but I find that we as sub-editors and editors, we all have the same view of what is sensitive and what isn't.

Interviewer: Who makes the final decision on such matters in the newsroom?

Journalist 3: I think we all have a say but I think it all goes down to the group editor, the editor. The news editor's is like 40 percent, the group editor's is 60. Because she knows, she's the editor, the top chief.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 3: In any print field, at the moment we are always struggling so I feel that sometimes we can take on an advert that is not appropriate, such as the

Sexpo in the educational section. But that's the type of world, so maybe it's about the placement and making sure it's appropriate. I feel that the pagination of the ratio of the left and right-hand-side is very equal and I think we make it a point to not bombard with too many pages – the layout is always 80 percent to 20 percent on the pages so I think it is very good in that sense. But we could do more to emphasis the adverts, so we could do more to include, maybe on the back more community, local, small business.

Interviewer: Can you recall an experience where you were pressured into not publishing or retracting a story due to pressures from community members or advertisers? If so, describe the instance and how the resolution was made.

Journalist 3: No, I think it's the other way around. I feel like we are so on-top of things. I think that content assesses it, I feel like we are so in control of what we want, when we want it. I feel when there is a mishap or a new advert, we've got it under control and I think that is quite unique in a company, however I don't really know the sales but that's my perception of it.

I feel like we are pressurised to have content that we ourselves are not even confident in publishing but because a client says so and because we need the money, because it's advertising and because it's print and print is failing, I do feel that it's in those situations when it should be deemed as an advertorial, it should be labelled as an advertorial because do we stand by that content, no. When a client is very biased, or non-objective or talks very highly of themselves in that article then I don't believe that's correct and we are forced to publish it. Then, I think we should write – advertorial.

Interviewer: Have you ever experienced pressure from advertisers that has made you manipulate how you have edited the story so as not to anger the advertiser?

Journalist 3: Ya, it's again with the new generation, it's taking the easy way to say, this is unknown or couldn't get hold of so-and-so in time. Every time we get into trouble I feel that it was because a journalist, particularly just a journalist,

has not taken all tracks, because there is a pressure because you are weekly, but we could do more crime-wise and we could actually do more positive crime, now I am talking editor-wise, we could do more tips and more positive crime stories like people helping, not just, you know. But I think in Fourways, it's nice to see that we don't bombard people with crime but I think there are community security, people who are dying to get their information out there, which I think we should incorporate.

Any journalist at any media organisation can get their stories done, and by gosh if you didn't – but that's the old type of journalism. It's about moving away from press releases and where's the excitement? This newsroom should be buzzing. We were not allowed to get off that phone and I remember, my first experience where I wrote an article and I got it back with red everywhere but it was such a learning curve and I was my own journalist.

Interviewer: How do you feel the culture in this newsroom is?

Journalist 3: It's a snooze-fest. That's what it is, and unfortunately, it could be so much more, it could, but it's a case of getting these journos who are young and inspiring to get that oomph again, but then again, they come from a generation where it is a snooze-fest, and instead of saying you are doing this wrong and this wrong, why don't you say, you are doing this right and this right, and hey, why don't you go and show us what you can do. The news editors are editors but they take on a lot of the roles and responsibilities of the journalists. An editor should sit back and delegate and let the team come, and it's almost like, who can be the best journalist, who can get the best story, who can get a thousand hits about a chewing gum, you know, and I just feel like you can see that people are dragging their feet.

Interviewer: Why do you think that culture has developed in the newsroom?

Journalist 3: Because it's been okay that in a normal media house, if it [a story] had more than three to five errors, it would go back, we don't do that. The sub-editors take on a lot, and thank goodness I am a journalist because I can re-

work, but also it's too forth-coming. I'm not going to say you have to do three to five, you must say, okay, in this week, give them specifics but in a different way. "I want you all to write me five front page stories so that they are all of the same quality." You know. "Who's got the most stories in this week's paper?" That's what drove me when I first started, my byline. It doesn't bother me anymore. It's lost now because it's like, I am going to get a press release and then I am going to rehash it and then I am going to give it to the subs who are going to re-write it again. They are not seeing their own work because they are not seeing their own work in the beginning, because I used to hate it when I was a journalist and I got my work back and I couldn't even recognise it, but you can see when people are not even trying and we have a great dynamic of people who can go in different directions and of people who can lead and whatever. But I said to the group editor a few months ago, I want to do motivational things in the office, and she said no well I don't really think people will like it. Today I was going to talk to the chief sub-editor and say let's talk about the message. Scrap the errors, you know, where's the message, not just relay a message. You know I would be the first one there saying let's do this, let's do this. I will buy presents and get everyone excited, because I miss that and it's sad for me not to see that fire that I had, and it's there, they are just getting bogged down by here is a press release, can you write a story about it. No. "Here's a press release, I want you to give me five different versions and make a headline story out of it." And it's so possible, it really is, but it is a case of putting firecrackers up people's bums not just a monthly thing that means nothing to anyone. I want to give this room, the feeling of being a journalist, and not just a re-hasher, because I feel bad for them. They are coming into this. They are coming into this newsroom which is as quiet as whatever and they are going to think that this is what it is. So, the chief sub-editor in as brilliant as she is and also the other sub-editor, I want to be like, come on, get the fire. And say, okay, journalists, your task for today, you must write about a bubble gum, best one who can do it, you know. In the bigger picture, if the group editor was to agree, I would so be there. We are on the right track, we are just at a point of being dormant, stagnant, and that's where people are like it's not the content or the people, the community must

assess the newspaper, no, our news team must create it. Change the perspective. Give people something to talk about. They should be excited about it because they are speaking to people, they should be connecting, more interactive. No more press releases. No more dead giveaways.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 3: I don't think it's about toning down. I think the sub-editors know a common style or standard or intensity of emotion, so I don't think we go by what the community might think. We just go by our standard of what we think is appropriate, so like I said, like with the community and the journalists, we ourselves have a standardised thing to move forward.

Interviewer: How do you see your role in the newsroom in terms of your career path?

Journalist 3: It could be a great stepping stone if people were to want to teach more, learn more, inspire more, encourage more but we've lost our way and just become a community newspaper. Where is the community within this newsroom? We've got such dynamic people you know on all different levels but we need to just inspire a passion and further careers because right now, we are stumping everyone. I mean if I was to come in here as my first job I would say, "Okay, thanks, bye". But, I can see that I am still here after a year, after many things of maybe should I leave? But there is huge potential here, but the only creativity I see is the writing on the wall. I don't see the creativity on people's faces or on their desks or whatever, you know, switch it up, get some of the journalists with the subbies, so we can learn and bounce off and whatever. So, yes, it is a training ground. *Fourways Review* is a great one because it is one of our mass ones as well and we just need to do more with it.

Interviewer: How do you see your role?

Journalist 3: My role here has to continually evolve to find the interest because it can get stagnant. I have learnt an incredible amount. I came here not knowing anything but wanting to learn, and I have sat here and I have learnt, so I have gone through that evolution to then wanting to help other people and now I feel like maybe I can do something else, like influence, but I do feel like my role is influential in that there is relatability. I don't think I am better than anyone else, and fun. Bring on the fun and make people laugh. You know, we are dealing with such serious stuff, we need to laugh at least once a day. I do think I do play an influential role and although I am only in the newsroom two days a week, I am probably more present here in two days than most people are in five.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Journalist 3: No.

JOURNALIST 4

Interviewer: How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 4: I arrived at Caxton in 2012 and I started off at the *Midrand Reporter* for a year, so say three years. I started as a news editor on *Fourways Review*. And shortly after being at *Fourways Review*, maybe five at a push, the assistant editor at the time resigned and the group editor had decided I was going to be the net person.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 4: So after I matriculated I went to Varsity College and got a diploma, I applied for the Media24 journalism academy and I got experience in all of the different departments. *Fourways Review* has been something that I wanted to do since I knew that I wanted to do journalism. It is where I did my internship while I was studying, I had kept a relationship with the editor throughout my years at Media24. It was where I had always wanted to be. When I came to the end of my contact at Media24 I called the editor and he said

there was an opening on *Midrand Reporter* and so I came and a year later I moved to *Fourways Review* and I thrived, I loved it.

Interviewer: Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 4: So, it's a tricky one because I don't live in Fourways now. My parents bought our house in Douglasdale in 1995 and I lived there for 16 years until I moved out so I know the area extremely well. I am hoping to move back into the area within the next couple of months but at the moment I am between homes. At the moment I'm living in Parkmore but Fourways is what I consider home.

Interviewer: Do you believe that living within the *Fourways Review* distribution area helps you to assess the community's needs more accurately?

Journalist 4: Absolutely, not only for me but I think for every single journalist within the team, I think that living within your area it makes it more personal because you care about those matters, you're not just attending that residents' association meeting because it's your job, you're attending that residents' association meeting because you actually want to be there, it's part of your life and the decisions that are made there are the decisions that are going to affect you. You don't have to wait for someone to phone you to say there's this pothole or a problematic streetlight, you are in those roads, I've always maintained that you have to sleep, eat and drink in the area that you work for. The journalists who are able to do that, you are able to see that they are much stronger for it.

Interviewer: Is that something that you strive for when employing journalists?

Journalist 4: It's something that I attempt to do, it's not something that's always possible, finding journalists that are enthusiastic and capable and willing to meet the criteria of our jobs and having them in the area is difficult but it is something that we do strive for, so even if it's not in the exact area, even if they are in the neighbouring area it is still close enough but for me, if I could have all

of my Fourways journalists living and working and drinking in Fourways, that would be my priority, absolutely.

Interviewer: To what extent do you participate in community events?

Journalist 4: Community events as in the social environment, lots. I have my little local bar and I know the owners and they know me and I know that community very well. I know all the farmers markets and the organic markets, I know those community members and they know me. In terms of attending the CPFs and the resident association meeting, to be honest is not something that I have ever really done, and I think the problem with that is that I have never really been a homeowner. It's not something that has affected me because my situation has always been very temporary. So from that angle no I don't and I should, but from a social, the events that are happening, it's always been that I have tried to spur people on and tried to support those initiatives.

Interviewer: How do expect journalists to gather news for the newspaper?

Journalist 4: So, something in all of the community newspapers and something that we pride ourselves on is that a lot of the local content is given to us is user-generated, it is that our readers are speaking to us and I think that is always going to be a very big part of our newspapers. I don't want them to sit in the office and wait for the phone to ring, I want them to be out active in their areas. All of the journalists have laptops and 3G cards in the hope that they will be in the area, talking to those people. What I say to people when I interview them is that I want you to hate going into Pick n Pay and I want you to hate going to Pick n Pay because I want people to say, "You work for the *Fourways Review* and I have a story for you." That is my dream. That is what it was for me in Meyerton, I avoided going to the shops because I was harassed. I get harassed when I go to my local Pick n Pay because everyone now knows me. I want it to be like that for everyone, I want them to be so embedded in that community that those community members are in touch daily, that it's not just, let me call the police officer to ask him if there's any crime this week, but to know the police officer so that he knows and trusts you.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think those relationships have been formed?

Journalist 4: I think that the *Fourways Review* team is a new team, I think that in the past when the team has been a little more stable I think that it has happened, not to the point that you are being harassed at Pick n Pay but I truly believe that there are relationships that have formed within the team and those relationships are strong. I think that at the moment it is very much professional, that I am contacting you for a story and I am dealing with you simply because you are a journalist, but I do have hope that those relationships are forming but the team has only been steady for the past four months, it is a very short space to form those bonds, but I do believe that it is happening, that people are contacting me telling me how wonderful the journalists are and I can only hope that that team unites and strengthens and that those people do form those relationships. The way I see journalism is that it's not give me a story, it's how are the kids in Fourways High School, how are the matric exams going, I want them to know those people and I don't believe that that has happened just yet.

Interviewer: So you think it will happen with time?

Journalist 4: I believe that with time, I mean one of our weak-point we do have a very high staff turn-over, with local newspapers you always going to have that, people see it as a starting block to leap off into different areas, they don't see it as a place that they can make their career and it's a mind-set that we desperately need to change because it is a place that you can make your career, look at me, I started off in Caxton as a journalist [news editor] and I am now the group editor, you definitely can make a career here, you just need to change the mind-set that they want to stay, they want to grow and if we can get that right, those relationships can strengthen.

Interviewer: How often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 4: Daily. I speak to a lot of the community members. I would just say I am speaking to at least one Fourways resident at least once a day on the

phone or on email and with Fourways, a lot of those people are my friends. As I said, I have grown up in Fourways so I have got my little neighbours and friend who I used to go and smoke in the park with and the people who we used to walk to Monte with and those people are the people who are *Fourways Review's* new readers.

Interviewer: How do the majority of these conversations take place? On the phone, over email or in person?

Journalist 4: I would say the best ones that I have are the ones that aren't meant to happen, it's when you are sitting down somewhere and you mention what you do and they start talking about the paper. Those people who just meet you and give you a story out of the blue because they happen to meet you. I would say that a lot of the conversations and relationships that I have formed have been over social media, if you take Andre Snyman for example, he was a social media contact. One of the paramedics in the area, he was somebody who I met through social media and we formed that relationship through social media and it was only recently that we actually sat down and met and had a cup of coffee and saw what we looked like, so I think that social media plays a huge part in developing communities.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you?

Journalist 4: I've always been one of those people who say that if it is important to the community then it is important to us, so it might not be the biggest story out there but if it is something that the community is behind then it is something that I absolutely want to get behind. I look for stories, stories that would be strong for me are stories that have a lot of interaction and that have a lot of comment from that community, not just a plain press release from a shopping centre or from the police to say A, B and C happened, I want us to go there and say well this happened and how do you feel about it, to me those are the stronger stories and those are the stories that I would encourage the journalists to do.

Interviewer: How do you decide whether something is newsworthy?

Journalist 4: Well, I think you've got the obvious. I think if it's crime. I think it's newsworthy if it's of interest to those readers. There might be a new shop that's open and all those readers want to know about it, that's not newsworthy to me, I want to know if the shop is going to giveaway to charity, if it's going to uplift that community and make that community better or that it's going to affect that community in a way that they need to know about. As I said, it doesn't have to be a hard-hitting crime story, it can be anything that is interesting that me, as a Fourways resident, do I need to know about that and if the answer is yes, then the majority of the time then the community also needs to know about it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding what to report on?

Journalist 4: I think it's a tricky one though because a lot of the time it's not stuff that I would want to read about but it is stuff that I know that people would want to read about, so, I have always been a hard news person, it's in my nature, I want to know what's going on in terms of crime, I wouldn't say that I was the type of person who would go and report on the SPCA, for me it's not the type of news that I would want to know about, I don't want to look at sad little doggies in the paper, it just makes me depressed quite honestly, but it is something that the Fourways readership has shown a lot of interest in and therefore it is of huge interest to them but it's not something that if the paper was mine and mine alone and I could print a copy just for me, it's not what would go into the paper.

Interviewer: To what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding reporting on stories?

Journalist 4: It is tricky because it is that fine line, so not personal relationships but the relationships that you have formed, you don't want to destroy those relationships by writing one bad story and you never get another story out of

that person but at the end of the day, I think that truth does need to prevail but if I am too close to the story, I do admit it upfront, it is the same with that Kyalami story with the billboard, the news editor knew from the get-go that I knew the person and it was actually my husband's boss and therefore I was no longer involved in the story, if it was going to turn into a negative story it was going to and I have to trust that if I am emotionally involved in a story and it is a bad story, that it is going to be handled correctly by the right people, I will admit that there is a conflict of interest and pass it on.

In terms of the good stories, I like to think that we've got space to write about everything, so for example I formed very close ties with a little orphanage called Botshabelo, and I don't think that *Fourways Review* had actually reported on Botshabelo enough and it was an organisation that was doing so much good and they needed all the help that they could do, and because of the relationship that I had formed with them I was able to push for them to go into the paper and that has made the world of difference to that organisation and they have received sponsorship, because of my relationship with them and because they were able to get into the paper. I think that a lot of organisations struggle to know what should and shouldn't go into the paper and because of those relationships I have I was able to talk to them and guide them into the paper and it's unfortunate that you can't do that more, it's unfortunate that you can't be friends with everybody but I think that having those relationships makes it easier for them.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 4: I think that you've always got to consider the readers' sensitively when publishing, there are papers throughout Caxton that have a very different sense of news and a very different threshold to consider when publishing stories. For example, we had an incident of a man, it was in *Midrand Reporter*, a man that hanged himself and we decided to blur the photos because we do have children reading our paper. We are a community paper, we are pushed in

front of everybody's noses, we have to be sensitive to what goes in and what doesn't go in. There would have been other community papers which would have chosen to have published that photo as is without blurring it and I guess, each community to its own, Fourways is a very sensitive community, they don't want to see blood and guts all over the front page and so that is something that I would have considered. If I was working in Pretoria, I possibly would have published it because they want that information and if they are not going to get it from their local newspaper, they are going to go and buy the national newspaper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 4: You know when I started off I didn't think of the advertisers at all and they were a completely different department and we were a completely different department and we didn't have to work together but I think more and more, we are working together, whether we like it or not and I do think that you need to be fair when publishing those stories.

I think having the sales department working so closely with editorial brought to my attention that fact that we need to be more fair. So, for example, the shopping centres, so when a crime happens, in the past we would never have thought of contacting that shopping centre to say a crime has happened in your centre, do you want to have a comment on it? But, what the advertising reps and manager brought to my attention is that it is their brand and so now we have a policy that whenever a shopping centre is mentioned, we do get a comment from them, and that is regardless as to whether they are an advertiser or not, we should be getting comment from those centres and a lot of the time I don't even know who our advertisers are. When someone from the sales floor contacts me to say this is advertiser, can you help, I still look at the merits of the story as I would if it was a community member to say is this of interest to the readers, is this something that we can do, is this of interest to our readers, can we do it? No we can't. But I think having that awareness that they may be our

clients out there made me be more fair. I think it's a fine line of can I do A or B. Hirsch's is a great example. Hirsch's is a big advertiser within the *Fourways Review* and they used to have their PR company approach us on a monthly basis begging to get into the paper and I used to shut them down because they weren't of interest but eventually because there were an advertiser and because they were trying so desperately, I decided that I would help them and I gave them some ideas and I told them to go and clean a taxi rank. That's not something that I would tell a community member but they were so desperate for something that when I told them they took it and they did it and it worked, it was these lovely little blondes in blue mini-skirts cleaning up a taxi-rank, it was fantastic and it worked and that was a do-good for the community, and it was an advertising thing that I used in the paper but I thought it was relevant.

Interviewer: Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

Journalist 4: So, what would normally happen is that the news editor would come to me to say that this is a story that we need to keep an eye on and I would make sure that that story is kept an eye on so I would discuss it with the news editor or go directly to the journalist and say we should be looking at A B C or D and when it went through the sub-editors I would not say anything most of the time and I would wait for them to react and see if they have the same concerns as me, I think it's like look at the sky and try to find the colour red, you're going to find the colour red, so I wait and see if they've got the same concerns and if it slides through then I will go to them and say, these were my concerns, these were the news editor's concerns, what do you think and we would have a discussion about it and come to some kind of consensus or if I completely disagreed with their views then I would sort of say okay we are publishing or we aren't publishing. One of the ways that I like to work is that I don't believe that decisions should be just one person so if there is a sensitive story or a tricky story, or that we are going to be taken to the press council, it is something that I like to get many opinions on, so I do like to go to my news

editors who are very experienced to say there is this story, what do you think, or I will go to the sub-editor and say, well there is this story, what do you think about it and I will have that discussion and think about everyone's points of views, have a discussion about it and think of my point of view and come to a decision, but I don't like to be the person who just makes a decision based on my decision and my experiences. It should be a joint effort.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that the news editors and sub-editors make on content and then still go ahead with your decision?

Journalist 4: All the time. I think it's great that everyone's got opinions, I think that it is great that they are learning and thinking for themselves, I think that's great and a lot of the time I do agree with them and a lot of the time I will agree with them and I will go for what they are saying about a particular topic but there are times that I will completely disagree and I will get more counsel, I will go outside so I will phone our group editor Irma or I will phone the Caxton Academy and get their opinion. If everyone is telling you no and you're still saying yes, maybe there's something wrong but maybe when everyone in the office is saying no and you are saying yes, maybe they don't have the experience you have. I think it's really interesting and sometimes they pick out points that I haven't even thought of.

Interviewer: Are the pressures by advertisers or community members subtle or overt?

Journalist 4: I think that they like to say that there is a strong pressure from the advertising side, I think they will email you and say I am a big advertiser in the *Fourways Review* or the reps will email you and say this is a big advertiser but there are those editorial guidelines and I try stick to them as much as I can and if I can do it I will try to help them as much as I can and if I can't do it, regardless if I can't give them editorial, I will do an advertorial for them so then at least it's not affecting the editorial integrity but I can say however we can give you a shopwindow and I think that's been a nice way to get that pressure off, it's like

well because you are a nice client, you can have your say. I work very closely with the sales manager and I will go to her and say that we have this story and we are going to run with it and you should prepare your client because we are not going to back down, and they have never put pressure on me to not run a story. It's never got to the point that we do or don't publish something.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 4: I think that the ads do dominate, they decide how much space we are going to have. It's not a 50-50, there are definitely more adverts than editorial, that's the nature of community news, that's how we make our money, is through advertising so, I don't think that the adverts in the body of the paper is overwhelming, I think that the inserts are overwhelming and I can see how people get upset with the inserts, but then again, a lot of people read the inserts. If you are talking about pages one to 30, I would say it is about 60-40 [percent].

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 4: There have been stories where it has been a bit of a non-story but a story about a school, I can't remember which story it was but one of the journalists wrote a story about a child that had allegedly been pushed [smacked] by the teacher and there was no proof of that, and I believe that that article would have upset that school and ruined that relationship with that school and we did have a nice relationship with that school but at the same time, there was no proof. I think if he had said there was video footage of this child being pushed around or the entire class witnessed it, or something a little bit more, then it would have been more of a story. There was an allegation in the story of the teacher holding back the child's pudding and that was the angle of the story that the child didn't receive pudding or received pudding too late, and to me, although the mother was upset about that, I was like well, the child didn't get pudding, it wasn't enough to destroy the school's reputation over and therefore I

made the decision not to publish. That school would have hated us and they would have been hugely affected by that article and I didn't think that was worth it.

Interviewer: How was that decision made?

Journalist 4: So, I think the news editor actually brought that story to my attention in the first place and I went onto Pongrass, I read the story and I left it alone for a couple of hours, I thought about it and then I decided this is what we needed to do, we needed to kill the story. I sent the story back to the journalist and said he needed to come and speak to me when he had a chance about the story and when he got to my office it wasn't really a discussion it was that I didn't think that they story should be sent to press, these were my concerns, what do you think and he said, well that he thought that the pudding was important and the child was upset and I said well, I don't care and the story didn't go in.

I like to think that there is more of a discussion with some of the journalists, but for this one, there wasn't it was that this story is not going in.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 4: I think that the *Fourways Review* is your local rag, it's everything that you need to know about your area. I think it's a central point that residents can go to and turn to with their problems and look for their problems, they can go there for their advertising or what's happening in the community that week or what shows are on or what crime is happening at the moment. It is the mouthpiece for that community. It is much more effective than a newsletter, it gives you everything. I think it is somewhere that readers can go when they are desperate, the national papers don't care about that pothole or that the cars are driving too fast on your road, they don't, the *Fourways Review* cares. If it matters to the residents, it matters to us, and it is something that we can pick up and fight for on their behalf. I think if it is something that concerns them, like the K56 is a perfect example where the *Fourways Review* played a very fine line

between the two. Although the residents were unhappy and they were saying that their houses were going to be destructed and they were saying how can they do this to us and this horrible road and the horrible City of Joburg, the *Fourways Review* was there to educate the public as well to say, well this road has been planned for 20 years and you know, it was your responsibility to look at the town planning to know that this road was coming. So, we are not going to fight on that part because the road has been planned forever, however, the moment it went into a wetland, then we were with the residents to say, okay, this is a wetland, this is precious and we fought for that. I think that the newspaper is somewhere where we need to inform and educate but I think also it brings a sense of community to the areas. I've lived in my family's home for 16 years and I don't know what my neighbours' name is. Fourways is one of those places that you don't always know the people around you and *Fourways Review* offers you that sense to give you that sense of community or to let you know that there is this residents' association meeting and this is why you should attend or there is a Halloween party and this is why you should come. I don't think that neighbours are going to listen if you go knocking on their doors saying please come to my Halloween party, *Fourways Review* can play that role.

The role that the journalists should be playing? I think that they are the brand of *Fourways Review* and they should be assisting those readers and if a reader has got a problem with a pothole, they shouldn't just fob it off and say well go and report it to the City of Joburg, it's not every resident knows how to do that so our journalists should be saying this is your ward councillor's name and if you don't know how to report it, I can take you through that process, this is the number that you need to call. It shouldn't be that just go away and when you don't have answers after two weeks, come and I'll report it. We should be assisting them. The readers are our clients.

Interviewer: What has influenced how you have defined this role?

Journalist 4: I think that growing up, *Fourways Review* was always that for me. It was the place that I could go to figure out what was going on in my little

neighbourhood and the Halloween parties, and, and, and. It was always that sort of publication and I think the more I got involved with it the more I wanted it and the more I saw a need for it, exactly that, I don't know my neighbour's name, in Fourways or in Parkmore, I don't know who those people are and I should know, we should have that sense of community and, we don't as Joburg and I think that those papers can play such a vital need for it and the more I look into it, the more I see a need for it, the more I see a need for the little Facebook groups and those things, everybody's trying to get that sense of community, we need to try to get on the same page as them.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think that *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the role that you want it to fulfil in the community?

Journalist 4: I think there is always room for improvement, I think we could always do better. I think we have very small teams and to cover Fourways in such a small team can be tricky, Fourways is such a big area, we've got the business nodes and then we've got the residential with the kids running around and then we've got the people with the horses and so it's a very large space to give everyone what they want. I think that to a large point, yes, we do talk about the good in the communities and we do try to encourage people to do those things, you should be saving water, you should be talking to your residents' association, you should, you should, you should. I like to think that they are talking back to us. I think that the fact that our websites have done so incredibly well and I think the fact that we have people talking to us on our Facebook pages and on our Twitter pages shows that we are embedded in that community, it shows that when something is read, it does get shared and people do participate in it. When you post on the I Love Fourways page they accept it because we are part of them. I always laugh at people when I employ them on *Fourways Review* and say that the people of Fourways believe that this is their paper, they are our bosses and they really do hold you accountable and I think that's great, I think that's the way it is meant to be.

Interviewer: Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Journalist 4: Yes, I think with most communities, there are a few people who do lots and it's quite surprising, if you flip through the archives you will see some people, 10-years younger, doing the same thing. It's very, very sad but it is the reality, there are a few people who are willing to go the extra mile, they are willing to start the clean-ups and the head of the CPF and to do this and to do that. There aren't many people that are willing to take that lead and I think it is that we are just busy, we all have our lives and we just live in our little bubble and we're very happy to rock up on the day with a bag and pick up litter but we're not going to start them. It is very repetitive in the newspaper because those people are standing up and they do care about those areas, it's not to say that the others don't care; they are just the ones talking.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant "voice" in the newspaper?

Journalist 4: I think that we stand up and listen when those people talk. I think when you see something from a community player who you think is trusted and who you have dealt with on many occasions and they've been a constant flow of reliable information, that you are going to listen to them when they phone you and they say listen I have a story for you, you are going to listen as a little old granny who calls you for a story. If you're busy you'll probably say that you'll call her back because it will be for a little fete or something. I don't know if it is right or wrong, but that's the way that I interpret it.

Interviewer: Who would you say are the marginalised community members, and to what extent do you aim to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 4: I think within the greater community, yes, I think that there is, a lot of our readers are Diepsloot residents and we don't give them a voice and as much as *Fourways Review* was never meant to be a paper for Diepsloot, I don't think that we can ignore the fact that they are our readers and we don't give them a strong enough voice in that paper, not to say that *Fourways Review* needs to be distributed in Diepsloot but you can't deny the fact that they are in

our areas and they are talking to us, and I think we have ignored them to a large extent. I think that there's a couple of areas that we've ignored. I think that the journalists get so busy and so consumed in the big areas that they forget about other areas. I can remember once somebody wrote a story about an area and I sort of went, where is that, is that even in Fourways, because I was so used to the big areas, I had forgotten about the smaller areas.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what you as a journalist/editor think the community ought to know?

Journalist 4: Well hopefully we could run with both. If there were two really big stories and the journalist believed that his story was important, I mean you could play devil's advocate and say well, how do you know that the readers aren't just aware of it yet and so how do you know they are not pushing for that story because they don't know about it, maybe they are not pushing for it because they just don't know but I think that we have been very user-driven, it has been in the history of our paper, we want to know from our readers, we want to know what they are talking about and what they want to know about it.

If you want to use a petty example of a pothole that has been on the road for the past seven months and a murder that has just happened, of course, we are going to focus on the murder that has just happened, the pothole has been there for seven months, it can wait another week, so I would weigh up the importance of each story and not just that community member who is pushing that story, but in the whole of Fourways, which story is more important? So, it could be that there's a small little area that is unhappy because they want booms as opposed to a larger area who wants booms, which is going to affect more of my readers? And I would run with that story.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 4: So, none of us are perfect and I think that we all are going to hit and miss all the time, we've got our Roots which allows us to go and narrow down who our reader is but I think it's important to also just be talking to those communities and those role players. If you are speaking to those people, they are your community, they are representing a larger group of people and if they are talking to you to say, the *Fourways Review* has not covered this. The Magaliessig Action Forum and the superstore is a perfect example. We used to cover that story through and through and we sort of had a change-over in the teams and we sort of forgot about it for a couple of months and one of the members came to us to say, what's going on, you haven't published our stuff, people need to know and the moment we started publishing that information again, we got a lot of response from it and it was that we were pushing our own agenda if you will, we were focusing on other areas of the community, not realising this is what they wanted and it took that conversation to take place and those relationships to form in order to know what they wanted.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 4: I sometimes think that they [the journalists] don't know what impact it's going to have on the community if we are being completely honest. I think they sort of write a story and put it out there and they get a bit of a fright when it comes back to them.

Interviewer: Is it something that you consider?

Journalist 4: It is something that I consider. I am very aware about how many people are reading the paper and I think when I write my column, you have to be extremely aware of it because I think if you upset one person, it can snowball like you cannot believe. I think that journalist working on the *Fourways Review* don't realise how many people they are talking about. I think that you can get very lost in your bubble to think that you are producing work for Fourways, it's a small little community paper, not realising that it's going to spread that far.

Those big stories, we all get a bit of an eye-opener when they happen because I think you do get a bit of an eye-opener when they happen, we are not just a small little newspaper, we have far-reaches and we have strong-reaches.

Interviewer: How does your view of how a journalist should report influence the way you as a community journalist/editor define your role in the community?

Journalist 4: Yes, I think in a way it does, although I like to trust the journalists and trust that they are fulfilling the role that they should be playing, I think that sometimes there is a bit of a mishap and they do just get a little bit lost. I think that the spa is a perfect example with one journalist wanting to publish all these stories about a spa. Although she was in the community and she was talking to all these people, I didn't think that that was relevant, I didn't think that knowing where you could go to paint your toenails was something that our readers needed to read about this week, and so it was something that I pulled out, it wasn't informative, I think that story had its own hidden agenda and so for the most part I think you need to look at stories like that, you need to see why people are talking and what their agenda is. As much as *Fourways Review's* agenda is to communicate and educate and inform the public, those people that are talking to you, what are their roles and that is what I consider when deciding whether to publish. What is that journalists' role in publishing that story? Are they affected by that story? I like to think that they would come to me to say I want to publish this story about a spa because it's my aunty's spa and I think it's interesting, but they don't always, so you have to look for those hidden agendas.

Interviewer: To what extent is *Fourways Review* fulfilling your expectations of the role that you would like it to play in the community?

Journalist 4: I think that it is fulfilling my expectations to a large extent, I think that it could fulfil them a lot better. I think that we are missing stuff but I think that *Fourways Review* has been in the community for a long time and it is a trusted brand to a large extent and for the most part we can help them, for the most part we could help them with those problems. For the most part I

absolutely think we could be better and we could be stronger and we could be doing more but at the same time you have to look at the resources that we have and look at what more could we do. I think we need to look at our battles and fight them and I think that's a discussion that we need to have to see where we could help more. Is it a service where we could find numbers and this and that or are we just reporters, because if it were up to me, we would be the yellow pages as well, you can come to us for everything but is that really doable and I don't think the answer's yes right now.

Interviewer: How do you believe the community views the paper, perhaps as a watchdog or a tool to solve their problems?

Journalist 4: I think a bit of both. I think a lot of the time people come to us to make other people aware or just holding different parties accountable for what they are doing but I think some people approach the paper to solve their problems and it's sad when we can't and it's great when we do, but I think that people have that expectation that I want a speedbump on my road, I'm going to give it to the *Fourways Review* and the *Fourways Review* will make sure that that speedbump arrives and realistically we can't do that, realistically we can't go to the City of Joburg and say that residents want and therefore you should do. We can hold them accountable and say why aren't you doing it, but we can't make that speedbump appear, we can only hold the people accountable for why it is not there.

I think that we need to pick our battles and where we can solve problems we will try our best but I don't think that we are in the business of calling the City of Joburg and reporting things, you know that's not our role, that was never the media's role, our role is to hold people accountable and to follow up and make sure that things get done. It's the same as, if you are driving along the road and you see someone has been hit by a car, are you going to call *Fourways Review* and say someone has been hit by a car, call an ambulance or are you going to call the ambulance? We can't be the one calling the ambulance the entire time, we can go and report on the story and say well, the guy was driving too fast and

why hasn't he been arrested, and it's been two weeks and why has he still not been arrested? We play that role to hold the people accountable to do their jobs.

Interviewer: Do you think the newspaper plays that role enough?

Journalist 4: No, I don't think we don't do nearly enough follow-ups. I think we start off extremely enthusiastic and we attempt to hold people accountable but before you know it the next story has come along and we are trying to hold the next person accountable that we have forgotten about the first one. It is a weak point and it is something that every newspaper is guilty of and it is something that we should try and strengthen. It is exactly the superstore thing, we should have never have forgotten about that story, we should have been following up. There was a point where we didn't and that happens with many, many stories, there is a point where we forget about something and we are only human but I would like to think that we can improve on that.

Interviewer: How do you think that the community receives *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 4: I think according to the research that we have done, they do receive *Fourways Review*, there are your small majority who don't but I think the simple fact that we are growing and that online is growing and that we haven't hit our down-point yet and that we are growing, that does make me think that they do receive *Fourways Review* in a positive way. You will always get the people with every newspaper who threaten to never read you again and say that they will use the newspaper for their bird cage, I can almost guarantee you that that person still reads the front page before they put it into the bird cage. I hope that they are reading the paper and I would like to hope that they are as impassioned about their communities as I hope that they are.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Journalist 4: Nope.

JOURNALIST 5

Interviewer: So, you are the digital editor. How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 5: It's been since September 2013, so it has been two years.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions on the newspaper or in the newsroom?

Journalist 5: Yes, so I was a journalist on *Fourways Review*. And I was a journalist on *Midrand Reporter*, for just a month.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 5: So, I was a freelance writer and I contributed to website and a magazine, but I didn't have any other experience with newspapers before I started with *Midrand Reporter* and *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: Do you have a degree or diploma, and if so, what field is it in?

Journalist 5: A degree in media studies and English literature and I've got my honours in English literature.

Interviewer: Have you ever worked for a provincial or national newspaper?

Journalist 5: No.

Interviewer: These next questions are to establish the ties between you and the community. Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 5: In Randburg, and I've lived there for five years.

Interviewer: To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 5: So, I think sometimes when there is breaking news, it can hinder it because it takes time to get from where you live to where the action is taking place, so that could be a problem. I think also in terms of being invested in that the community, it might be a bad thing in that you are not completely invested in that community the way you are with the community that you live in, but I also think that it could be a good thing because you have a more unbiased view of what is taking place.

Interviewer: And do you participate in community events, for example entertainment events.

Journalist 5: I think I would, because I have done so before.

Interviewer: And what about CPF meetings or resident association meetings?

Journalist 5: I don't think I would attend those.

Interviewer: The next questions are on how the newspaper serves the community. How do you gather news for the newspaper?

Journalist 5: So, I think, just from keeping an eye out on social media. With my position now, as digital editor, it is very much about checking different community Facebook groups and Twitter. When I was a journalist, I would say, it was a lot more word-of-mouth, so if I was interviewing one person, if they supplied me with a tip-off or a lead, I would follow up on that. I would also call a ward councillor, just to get a bulk of stories at a time, so I think more community engagement when I was a journalist.

Interviewer: And now, how do you source information?

Journalist 5: I think a lot of the time now I would gather information from social media. If there is a case where we would need to write that information and a journalist wasn't available, I would write as many tweets or Facebook posts to verify whatever the news is and try to get that story up from that, but right now,

with being a digital editor, it is not so much about speaking to the community anymore.

Interviewer: How often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 5: Not as often, I would say possible on a weekly basis when people call you or email you from knowing you when you were a journalist, but I haven't really received any new communication since being a digital editor.

Interviewer: And when you were a journalist, how often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 5: On a daily basis.

Interviewer: And now as a digital editor, how do the majority of your conversations with community members take place?

Journalist 5: A lot of it is phone calls and then I would pass them onto a journalist or ask them to call a journalist. If it's emails, then I would forward the email to the journalist so that they can then take up the connection with the community member.

Interviewer: And when you were a journalist?

Journalist 5: When I was a journalist, it would be very much back and forth, so if I would get a phone call I would have preferred to meet the person, because I don't really like to do a story from phone calls, but if it was via email, it would be emailing back and forth, trying to get as much information as possible, trying to get photos and just maintaining that relationship so even after the story is published, send them the link to try to maintain good ties with that person for the future.

Interviewer: How do you decide whether something is newsworthy?

Journalist 5: So specifically with *Fourways Review*, I would think about the audience, and what stories have done well in the past. Sometimes a story

doesn't seem newsworthy, but you know that the community would react well to the story because they have done so in the past. And just to see if it serves the greater Fourways community, because, sometimes there's personal issues that no one else is going to be interested in in the community, so for me, that wouldn't really be a newsworthy story.

Interviewer: And can you think of some examples of the type of content that you know would be newsworthy for the community?

Journalist 5: So, with the type of content, we know that the Fourways community is an animal-loving community, so anything to do with animal welfare or environmental issues, always do quite well. But also, the stories that do well on *Fourways Review* have to do with service delivery issues, but it's different because if you are doing service delivery issues in Diepsloot, those stories don't do well, but if you had water issues in Broadacres, it would do well because I think people want to see that their voice is being heard and they possible keep complaining to the water entity, so when they see an article in the newspaper, it's like they say, ah finally something is going to happen.

Interviewer: And when you talk about stories "doing well" are you talking of the reception from the community, or online stats?

Journalist 5: Online stats.

Interviewer: And do those stories get feedback?

Journalist 5: It does get feedback in terms of Facebook comments, comments on the web story, re-tweeting or replying to the Tweet, and also people just sharing the story on their various personal Facebook pages or their community Facebook groups. That's how I judge if it has done well.

Interviewer: And are those comments used in the newspaper?

Journalist 5: Yes, and sometimes you even get more stories from a Facebook comment, so it does feed into each other.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you when considering whether to publish a story or not?

Journalist 5: In terms of getting local content, we do try to find a local link. So, if we have a story of an injured puppy, it is going to do well on the site, but I think just finding a local link will make it do better. I think sometimes you need to judge what stories in the greater Joburg north area are going to do well for *Fourways Review*. For example, the EcoMobility Festival in Sandton, although it doesn't have a local link to Fourways, would do well on Fourways because a lot of people would shop in Sandton or go to work or school in Sandton, so just to think of the movements of people and just to think what would give them the most information in the paper about their greater community.

Interviewer: And, to what extent do you believe your news values are in line with the fellow staff members on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 5: I do think more attention could be paid to that by other staff members. I think it is very easy when being a journalist on a community paper to push out as much content as possible but not think about what is relevant to the paper. For example, when you get a lot of different press releases on different plays, like shows, that are happening in the greater Joburg north area, or even exhibitions of municipality issues, it is very easy when you have the content in front of you to just process it for the newspaper, but it may not be relevant to the Fourways community, because, most the time, they wouldn't really want to travel to Gold Reef City to watch a show, when they could watch a show at a shopping centre. So, I think with that, other staff members need to be more discerning when deciding what stories to process and follow up on despite them having a great impact in the greater community, they may not be as relevant to just the Fourways community.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding what to report on, or send to the journalists?

Journalist 5: I think I am very guilty of that because I always think about what I would want to read about in the paper, and it feeds a lot into the stories that I send, and I think that sometimes that's bad, because it may not be what everyone wants to read but I always think about would I want to read this story online or in the paper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers and what they would like to read when deciding the newsworthiness of stories?

Journalist 5: I do consider what the readers would want to read, but more so than that though, when I receive a story from a community member, it is more just wanting to keep those ties with the community.

Interviewer: Okay, and that brings us to the next question, to what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding reporting on stories?

Journalist 5: So that to me is very important, because, sometimes it is my personal believe that people don't necessarily want to know about a little sports team that most people are not really going to join and are not that interested in, but I always feel like I need to get the story published, because we are going to have a good relationship with that community member and at least they would read the *Fourways Review* and they would supply us with different stories, so it is very important to me.

Interviewer: So is maintaining good relationships with certain community members more important than considering whether a story would benefit the whole community?

Journalist 5: Yes.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 5: I think very much so, to our detriment sometimes, because I feel like there is other news agencies which are not as personal to the community but, for example we would leave out the name of a resident because they were unhappy about us publishing the name, where we were not legally bound to do so, whereas other news agencies would publish that name, or just in terms of being conscious of family members, if there is a story that we are doing about a person who passed away, we are very sensitive towards that, and me personally, I am very sensitive towards that so it's very important to me how to maintain the sensitivity of the readers.

Interviewer: Can you remember an example of such a sensitive story?

Journalist 5: Well, with the Witkoppen road rage case, I remember at the time The Star published a photo of the driver of Porsche and the whole issue was that the passenger of the Porsche had gotten out of the Porsche and intimidated another driver. So, from the community, we did get that information but we were told please don't publish his picture and please don't publish his name, even though we would have possibly have gotten a better story or gotten a story that was better than The Star's story but we would have rather have heeded the community members' pleas to not print those pictures rather than just beating the competition. In that case, we actually got more information, but we didn't get the shock value that the other newspaper's got.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 5: Okay, we are forced to think of advertisers before we think of the editorial content and sometimes I think we do come into conflict because sometimes we as journalists do need to think and write out a whole press release which is extremely advertorial when they could be doing stories, but also, having to get comment from shopping centres when an incident happens at a shopping centre. Firstly you need to call the shopping centre, which takes a lot of time when you're in a breaking news situation, whereas other news

agencies don't and sometimes they get the story out faster because they don't contact the shopping centre first.

Interviewer: Can you remember an example of such an instance?

Journalist 5: Yes, I did a story once about an assault which took place at a shopping centre and we had gotten comment from the bar that it had happened outside of and the security and from the alleged assault victims, but the story had been published online and in the paper, and months later the shopping centre actually contacted us because they were actually part of a bigger group that did a lot of advertising with our company and they were very unhappy that they hadn't been contacted personally for comment about the assault and that actually caused the whole issue that now we have to ask shopping centres for comment before publishing any story.

Interviewer: Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

Journalist 5: I think when there is a difficult story which involves advertisers, it often, it doesn't stay with the journalists, so it will go from the news editor to the editor-in-chief and also I would assume to the branch manager who also deals directly with the sales team and all of those factors get put into if you are doing a difficult story.

Interviewer: Is that with regards to sensitive photos too?

Journalist 5: I think it is with the news editor and the editor-in-chief also would get involved, sometimes also our central digital specialist team would also be asked to step in and give their opinion before we publish or not publish.

Interviewer: Who makes the final decision on such matters in the newsroom?

Journalist 5: I would say the editor-in-chief.

Interviewer: How often do such difficulties arise?

Journalist 5: I think you could say almost on a daily basis because it is often that these problems arise. There are quiet weeks but it seems when there is breaking news, and sometimes there is breaking news every day, sometimes there's more than one breaking news story every day, it seems that it is always an issue that comes up with a advertisers and whether you can name this person or that advertiser.

Interviewer: Do you think those pressures have an impact on the news that is produced?

Journalist 5: I do think so. I mentioned earlier the story not being up as fast as it could be but I think also with the journalists being aware of those pressures, how a difficult story will change from being a really in-depth interesting story to being very wishy-washy because you can't name that person or you can't name that business, it becomes very much a he-said; she-said story. So, I think journalists sometimes write the story that way to begin with or sometimes even abandoned stories because they know it's going to be a difficult story and it's not going to make it onto the page the way they envisioned it so, I do think that a lot of stories do get rather abandoned rather than followed up on.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Journalist 5: I don't think it's very often but there are quite a few disagreements especially to do with naming shopping centres, naming advertisers. Maybe with the inmate kind of thing, I sort of disagreed with how we went about that because we were sort of pushing a journalist to do a story that he wasn't really comfortable with.

Interviewer: Can you describe the story?

Journalist 5: It was that we had information that inmates were using cell phones in prison but the problem was we couldn't use the actual photo that he

took with his cell phone. Legally it was a very difficult story but I think our editor-in-chief wanted to have a very cool story but the journalist himself was worried about the legal implications and I think we went ahead with it and I don't think we researched it as much as we could have just to get the story out there.

Interviewer: Are the pressures by community members?

Journalist 5: Yes, so there are relationships which you have built up with community members and it's such a touchy situation because you do want to have a good relationship with them but you don't want to be bullied by them or intimidated by them into doing a story which you believe isn't newsworthy or, into doing a story in the way that they think it should read when you're actually the journalist and you're actually writing the story according to what you think the community wants to read, so ya, there's a lot of pressure with that because you strive to keep relationships and building relationships with community members but you know it's like everybody wants input and they want to give input into what you're doing.

Interviewer: How often do such pressures arise?

Journalist 5: It can just be very stressful because as a journalist, you don't want to, you feel stuck in a position where you want to just say, no, I am the journalist and I am not going to do it like that, but then you worry that that is going to break the relationship so then you would go to your news editor and it would become a bigger thing because it would have to go to the editor-in-chief who would sometimes just tell you to do the story and it does, I think that can be really upsetting sometimes to your journalistic integrity because it sometimes feels as though you don't really have a say in what you do.

Interviewer: Why would the editor-in-chief tell you to just go ahead with the story?

Journalist 5: I think it's to maintain those community relationships.

Interviewer: The relationship between the newspaper and the community?

Journalist 5: Yes, to maintain that relationship. Sometimes the editor-in-chief would say just do the story. Sometimes it would go higher because a community member would take it upon themselves to call the branch manager or even higher like the CEO of the company and then it would become that people who aren't journalists or who aren't news editors decide for you that you should just do a story to keep the peace and that can become frustrating as a journalist.

Interviewer: Can you remember an example of such an incident.

Journalist 5: We had published a story, literally just a listicle of where to take your kids over the holidays and one of the options was to take them to a zoo where you could have cub interaction, which is one of the things that the zoo offers. Someone who obviously was quite a prominent community member read that article and was very impassioned about the fact that we had mentioned the zoo because he felt that he didn't agree with animals being kept in captivity or animals being used for cub interaction and I think those were his personal beliefs, but he then emailed the CEO of the company who then pretty much told the editor-in-chief, who then told us that we had to do a story about captive animals and about cub interaction and I think yes, it was a good story and we did it but I didn't appreciate being told that we had to do it in response to this article because we didn't do anything wrong by publishing that article.

Interviewer: Can you recall an experience where you were pressured into not publishing or retracting a story due to pressures from community members or advertisers? If so, describe the instance and how the resolution was made.

Journalist 5: Well, yes, that assault at the shopping centre story, we did have to publish an apology in the newspaper and I still believe there was no reason for the apology because we didn't actually do anything wrong because we didn't actually name the centre either.

Interviewer: Why did the company make that decision?

Journalist 5: So, it was part of what they agreed upon with the advertisers was that there would be an apology made in the paper, and printed and that we would continue to ask them for comment every time something happened there. I think that definitely was something that we could have done but I felt that by printing the apology we admitted blame where we actually didn't have any blame.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 5: There are stories that we publish which are a bit advertorial and those come from the higher-ups and those come from when they ask us to put a story online that is very advertorial. There also used to be a habit, as part of their sales package to people, they would offer them, you can advertise for so much but you can also have two articles in the paper or you can have an article every week in the paper, which it is very unpredictable how much space you are going to have in the paper, and it wasn't something that we personally could promise people but we had the sales department promising those things so sometimes it can become very stressful to try to find a balance between what stories you think should go into the paper and what stories you think should take priority in the paper as opposed to what stories have been promised will go into the paper for advertising purposes.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community? If so, what was the story about?

Journalist 5: I think we have. There was a story which I did about a couple that felt that their child had been mistreated at its nursery school. We did still publish the story but when I took it to the nursery school to get comment, I sort of saw it from their side also, they didn't really neglect the child to the extent that the children said and it was possibly just a misunderstanding and really what ended up happening, the owner of the school was in tears about how sorry she was and how she didn't mean for this to happen and she didn't think they were at fault, and I did feel really sorry for her, so, although we weren't legally bound to

do so, I withheld the name of the school in the article because I just felt that it wasn't worth bad mouthing their school in the paper if I really couldn't see any blame on their part.

Interviewer: How often do such instances arise?

Journalist 5: That was quite a unique case, I don't think it happens as often but the situation of a community member pleading with you or being upset about a story, I mean, that happens often daily with the stories you do, it just depends on how authentic you view that to be or how much you don't want to upset a community member but I think especially with service delivery stories, animal welfare stories, environmental stories, you are always going to be upsetting someone in the community so you just have to decide case-to-case if it's worth canning the story or going ahead with it and upsetting that person.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 5: I think that *Fourways Review* does play quite a big role in the community, although I feel that community members use *Fourways Review* differently to the way they use provincial or national newspapers in that they feel that any complaint that they have or any service delivery issue they have should be in the *Fourways Review* and when their issue isn't in, they get upset that their issue wasn't in the paper, so it's almost like a community notice board for people who want their issues to be reflected in the paper and I think what a lot of people want also is that they want to publicise their events more than anything so it becomes like, this community event is happening and that community event is happening, because they can't really go anywhere else with that information in terms of print, they can't really go anywhere else with that information apart from the local newspaper.

Interviewer: How would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 5: I think we do have really good content at the moment. We do have news pages and that is a lot of the service delivery issues and the environmental issues, all of that. And then I think what ends up happening in the community pages is that there is good content at times but sometimes we end up with dry spells where a lot of it is just event listings.

Interviewer: How could the community section be better?

Journalist 5: I think the journalists do go to events and take a lot of social photos but I think it would be nice to maybe profile community organisations a bit more, I think maybe profile prominent community members in the community pages a bit more because I think that would be more interesting to read than just social photos because I am not as interested about reading about an event that has just passed unless I know someone took a photo of me and I am looking for my photo, I don't really want to see photos of other people.

Interviewer: How would you define your role in the Fourways community?

Journalist 5: I think it is a bit detached being the digital editor and even the news editor has more ties because people would contact her. I think by uploading the website and doing the social media, I do feel like that is some kind of a role because you do have to really think about the community and think about what they would want to read and when they would want to read it, when they would need this information by and also in terms of managing the social media, a lot of people will ask questions on the Facebook group, send their events and things like that and just kind of chat to them and ask them their comments and asking them more and just interacting with them via social media. That's my role.

Interviewer: What has influenced how you have defined this role?

Journalist 5: If I had come to the newspaper just as a digital editor, I think I would have a very different view of the stories, of my role, of how I would interact with the community members, but coming in as the digital editor from

when I was journalist on *Fourways Review*, that influences me because it's like I can almost, it's like I'm almost speaking to the community in person because I know the type of person I am speaking to and I know what the Fourways community wanted from me when I was a journalist, so it does influence the type of stories that I send to the journalists and the stories that I think are newsworthy. It influences the way I speak to people on the phone, on the social media pages.

Interviewer: What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Journalist 5: I think that I have my existing relationships that I made when I was a journalist, but with people that don't know me as a journalist, I feel that there isn't a relationship with them really, being a digital editor because I don't actually ever really meet them in person and so it is a little bit removed. And, I was thinking about it today actually because when I reply to a Facebook message or when I reply to a tweet, I am not replying as myself, I am tweeting as *Fourways Review* so I feel representative of *Fourways Review* so I feel that personally there isn't a relationship between me and the community.

Interviewer: In seeing yourself as a representative of *Fourways Review*, to what extent do you see *Fourways Review* as the mouthpiece of the community?

Journalist 5: I personally see *Fourways Review* as a mouthpiece of the community and I would like *Fourways Review* to be a mouthpiece for the community but I think with all the challenges they go on, our challenges with writing stories and our challenges with advertisers and our existing relationships with community members, I do feel that at the moment we are a bit of a servant to the community because you're so bound of keeping the relationship with the community, you are not independent enough to say you will not do a story, you are a little bit like a servant to the community.

Interviewer: Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Journalist 5: Yes, I definitely think so and I think loyal readers of *Fourways Review* will recognise who those influential voices are, one being like the CPF chairperson because we use his comment in so many stories that if you see his comment repeated in so many stories you begin to think that that person is in authority. Also with the ward councillors, they do become influential people in the community and that is because the paper has made them that way.

Interviewer: So, they are influential because of the paper?

Journalist 5: I think so, ya.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant “voice” in the newspaper?

Journalist 5: Yes, I definitely think so and that’s due to the relationship that we’ve built with them, also their availability as a source of information, the position they hold within the community is very important because we wouldn’t really, on a crime story we wouldn’t ask comment from a ward councillor we would ask the CPF, on a service delivery issue we wouldn’t ask the CPF for comment, we would ask the ward councillors. But, I think also, if you look at the papers, it’s a lot of the time, even just ordinary community newspaper, a lot of the time it is the same people that lodge complaints with the paper and bring their complaints to the paper so those community members do tend to have a dominant voice in the paper but it’s because they are the accessible people or they are the ones who always bring you their problems or issues in the community, whereas we don’t hear as much from other people in the community.

Interviewer: Why do you think they bring their problems to the paper?

Journalist 5: So, I think most community members believe that somehow, I do think they really believe that they believe that the paper is going to solve their problems, and a lot of the time residents don’t even report the issue to City Power and come straight to the newspaper because I do think that they almost

believe that the newspaper is almost like an organisation that's going to take that problem further and going to solve that issue, whereas it's not, we actually need them to report the issue before we report on it.

Interviewer: So, how would those conversations come about, what would you tell the community members?

Journalist 5: So, I would just be upfront and so if they come to us and say my car was stolen from this shopping centre and cars get stolen from there every day. First of all upfront I say, have you reported it to the police that your car has been stolen and then if they haven't then I say, we can't follow up unless you supply us with the case number. Or, if they have reported an issue to City Power I would ask them for their reference number because then it also just is easier for us to get information on that issue.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 5: I think one is that I believe that the community newspaper can solve all their problems, so if a park is in disrepair, by the time the story comes out in the newspaper, the park's going to be beautiful and back to how it was. Secondly I believe that in terms of community members contacting the paper about events taking place or their pleas for new members or things like that I think that they believe that the paper will just take exactly what they said and it will be in the paper the next time they see the paper, whereas that's not the reality because we have to prioritise stories that are more newsworthy than that and also think about if anyone is going to be interested in just that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think there is an imbalance between what the community expects and what you think the community newspaper is serving?

Journalist 5: Ya, I definitely think there is an imbalance with that because, just as I have said, *Fourways Review* could be the mouthpiece of the community

and really, we could be doing, what I would like to see in *Fourways Review* is just more investigative pieces where community members would give tip-offs about possibly a house that's known for drug deals or there's someone repeatedly dumping waste into the river. I think we used to always have stories like that in the paper, I think the community is not using *Fourways Review* for that any more but really just wanting immediate results with their immediate problems like power outages or water outages and I feel like community members don't necessarily want to help the greater community by telling their story to the newspaper but they want immediate relief by the newspaper putting pressure on the government or provincial organisation.

Interviewer: Why do you think the community has that perception?

Journalist 5: So I think in some cases the newspaper has stepped in and there has been results but I think there is the perception of who's going to help you except the community newspaper because if you had to take that issue to a provincial newspaper, they would tell them from the get-go this is not something that we would cover, whereas they think that the community newspaper should cover all their issues, so I think that it's also because the community newspaper is also a free newspaper, so I think the community has the perception that because it's free, anything that you want should go into the community newspaper but they don't necessarily read the stories that are in the community newspaper so it's not like they want to improve on those stories, they don't want to read the story they just want the newspaper to put pressure on the organisations or on the ward councillor.

Interviewer: Who would you say are the marginalised community members?

Journalist 5: I do think there are some community members who are marginalised and that comes down to knowing what the community wants also because, like I said before, if there is a water outage in Broadacres, the whole community wants to mobilise and the whole community wants to do something about it, but if there is a water outage in Kya Sands, no one really wants to read about it because the main readership of *Fourways Review* really wants to know

what's going on there, so I think there is a gap in terms of members of the community who are maybe not so affluent or who maybe don't live in the affluent areas of our distribution area, do sometimes get side lined just because community members don't really want to know about them.

Interviewer: To what extent do you aim to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 5: So I think we do very much so. I think I did and I think the journalists who are on *Fourways Review* do think so, so they do go into those communities and they do go with the ward councillor and with that, there is actually more investigation and more investigative stories, so ya, the newspaper does give voice to those issues but I still don't see it translating so much into the community or into the readership because I don't think it is necessarily what the other readers want to read about.

Interviewer: To what extent do your own views of what is important for the community to know guide the stories that you report on?

Journalist 5: I think very much so because I always look at a story or look at a lead and think, ya, this is going to do really, or I will think they really need to read about this or they are really going to need to read about these road works, so very much so.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 5: For me that's always very touch-and-go because I like to think that I do know what they community wants to read. For example, I always feel that people selling weed or getting bust for possession of cannabis is something that the community wants to know about, but we always get kind of back lash in terms of the comments on Facebook, where people will be like, oh report on something more important, who cares about someone who got bust for weed

and I think it's always a strange reaction because I always feel like the community will react differently to that.

Interviewer: How do you know what the community wants to read?

Journalist 5: The response? It never does actually. When I think I know what the community is going to respond, it never is. I think like at the Lion Park when a tourist was attacked through her car window, I would have expected community members to have been really shocked by it or scared by it or condolences to her family, but people were really quite hateful of the tourist and saying she shouldn't have her window open and these American tourists come to South Africa and think they can do anything and "I am glad the lion attacked her" which was quite a surprising response, ya.

Phone calls and emails, for example we have a WhatsApp alert service where we had actually been told to send out important stories and breaking news stories, and our understanding of that was actually crime stories and hard-hitting stories and murder stories and someone called me the other day and said he wasn't happy with the WhatsApp service because every day over WhatsApp, he keeps getting bad news and he actually wants good news over WhatsApp. That was a surprising phone call and it was nice to hear that response from a community member because now we can balance it out a bit more.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what you as a journalist/editor think the community ought to know?

Journalist 5: If there is a story and a community member calls you and says put this story in, I have done it as a journalist where the story that you are really invested in, and that you really want to do, does take a backseat and then you would rather do a story that you would rather do than people putting pressure on you.

Interviewer: What is the reasoning behind keeping those community members happy?

Journalist 5: So, my reasoning is so that they keep coming back with stories, that's one. Also, just in making it easier to move within the community and speaking to different community members, I feel like if it is very influential community members they could block that contact with other people in the community. And three is, you do feel a little bit worried that if you don't give them what they want they're going to phone your news editor or editor-in-chief or go higher and I think that does make you a little bit worried as a journalist.

Interviewer: To what extent do you base ethical decisions on universal rules or make decisions on individual contexts?

Journalist 5: So I think that it will go to the sub-editors and if the sub-editors do have an issue with it, it can kind of stop there but sometimes the sub-editors are fine with it in terms of their universal ethics and it does go online or it does go into the newspaper but sometimes the editor-in-chief was not happy with it and you need to pull the photo anyway, so that's happened before, I think when those girls went missing in Diepsloot we did use the photo and the sub-editor was fine with using the photo but the editor-in-chief wasn't happy because one of them was a minor.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 5: I definitely think so [as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?], it's something that we always take into consideration and I think it's because we know the community members so well, so even if it's just with remarks to each other, like oh this person is so angry with this ward councillor, I wonder what she is going to say about this. You do

really think about that person and the backlash it is going to have on them, and if it to do with an organisation you do think, oh but I know the chairperson of that organisation, I wonder how it is going to affect him, and I don't think that provincial or national newspapers think about that as much because they don't really have a personal relationship with the organisations within a particular community.

Interviewer: How does your view of how a journalist should report influence the way you as a community journalist/editor define your role in the community?

Journalist 5: I think it does play a part because I always think of the ideal journalist or how a journalist should be in terms of being unbiased, especially having such a personal relationship with the community that I always need to be unbiased when reporting. I think also just the idea that, it is a bit in conflict, but I always think that as a journalist you shouldn't be intimidated by anybody but sometimes you do end up being intimidated by some community members but it is always in the back of my mind that I shouldn't be and that I should just go for the story.

Interviewer: To what extent does your knowledge of the community's expectations impact your role?

Journalist 5: It does, that definitely does get into conflict and I would say that sometimes you do want to investigate this story and then the reality is that community members will call you and be angry and upset and your role does change from what you thought the ideal role as a journalist was.

Interviewer: Does that happen often?

Journalist 5: I think it does happen quite often because I think every original story you get, you approach it the way that you would always approach it and that is your understanding of what a journalist is and in every situation it does change. I always think it is strange because you think that a story is going to end up one way and then it does change so drastically from when you started it.

Interviewer: What causes that?

Journalist 5: I think definitely interactions with community members changes that, sub-editors sometimes being worried about you saying something, sometimes the news editor's opinion of this is how you should approach it so as not to anger this community member, so all those things and also your own personal beliefs and your own personal relationship with the community influences that because you don't personally want to upset someone that you have had a good relationship with.

Interviewer: Can you remember an example?

Journalist 5: So, there was a story where a community member was upset where her child was at his school, there were various complaints that it was too hot and there wasn't enough shade and their lunch was left outside the classroom but when I took it to the school, my perception did change because I could see that they were trying but I could also see that the community member was overreacting and the school may have been wrong in certain circumstances because there wasn't a huge amount of shade but they weren't malicious and I just felt, was it worth taking the side of the community member and making this whole big story, whereas I had seen that other news agencies have done that, I rather decided to stay on the fence and give her side and give the school's side, and actually at the end of that nobody was happy because she wasn't happy that I had sat on the fence and the school wasn't happy that I still did the story.

Interviewer: Is there any way that you think the paper could be meeting the community's expectations a little bit better?

Journalist 5: I think the paper does satisfy their expectations because I think in line with their expectations the newspaper is a notice board just reflecting what's happening in the community but I think it would be more interesting for the community for *Fourways Review* to do more investigative pieces just in

terms of stimulating interest in the community and to just get more people to give leads and tip-offs.

Interviewer: In terms of your role at the community newspaper, how do you see your role or position at the newspaper?

Journalist 5: I think realistically it is a stepping stone, not necessarily to a national paper but maybe to do something in terms of communications but at the same time I think having worked at the *Fourways Review* for two years, it is a very difficult thing to separate yourself from that because you feel very, very invested in the community, for example at the moment I manage two other websites for other communities but I still feel very, very invested in what's going on in the community and actually it is the website that I would by choice read, so it's a fine line in terms of my reality I wouldn't want to stay at the *Fourways Review* forever but at the moment while I am here I am extremely invested in that community.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Journalist 5: No.

Interviewer: Has there been a situation where the community has been unhappy with a story and made the newsroom change it before it has gone to press?

Journalist 5: Yes, I think that happens quite often [a situation where the community has been unhappy with a story and made the newsroom change it before it has gone to press?] and the example I would give is that with the city improvement district story, I mean our mandate is that we don't send out stories for approval but it became such a tense situation that we almost had to keep feeding back information as we were writing and the community member who was giving us the leads went so far as to write his own story for us to reproduce and I think it does happen often where a community member does want to know

what you have written before it goes to press and you do end up adjusting it to what the community member says.

Interviewer: And that is to make the community members happy?

Journalist 5: Yes, I think to keep the peace so that it doesn't end all your relationships in the community.

Interviewer: Would you like to add anything?

Journalist 5: I think that's all.

JOURNALIST 5

Interviewer: So you are a journalist on *Fourways Review*. How long have you been working on FR?

Journalist 6: I've been a journalist on *Fourways Review* for three months now, two months and approaching my third month.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions in the newsroom?

Journalist 6: Nothing so far, I have just been a journalist. I was a journalist on Rosebank Killarney Gazette, and I was there for two months, equivalent to what I am now. I am approaching my fifth month, almost six months with Caxton. I started in June.

Interviewer: Do you have any other experience in newspapers or any other media?

Journalist 6: I was an intern at Witbank which is Caxton as well. It is called *Emalahleni Newspaper* or *Witbank News*. I was therefore close to a year in 2013 when I was still studying at Varsity College.

Interviewer: And what did you do there?

Journalist 6: I did everything that we do here. I didn't have a car then as I was in a different province so I would go with reporters, and I was just basically a cadet.

Interviewer: And so you have a diploma?

Journalist 6: Yes I have a diploma and I plan to further it. I am planning on building my experience and then being able to study further at Wits or Rhodes if possible.

Interviewer: Have you ever worked at a national or provincial paper?

Journalist 6: Nothing so far.

Interviewer: These next questions are to establish what ties the newsroom and you as a journalist have with the community.

Journalist 6: I have lived in Lonehill since January. I am from Pretoria.

Interviewer: Do you believe that living within the *Fourways Review* distribution area helps you to assess the community's needs more accurately?

Journalist 6: Yes, I think it does perfectly because before driving to work you get to see what the community battles with regards to road issues, traffic or even things that people complain about, because you would get to the office and say, but I also experienced that. Like with the explosions that we would hear from Fourways Mall and we had heard them too. Imagine if you didn't know what they were talking about, or if you didn't know the frustrations they were going through, you wouldn't be able to see the extensiveness or importance of adhering to what they are asking for. So basically by living there you get to experience it and you get to be a frustrated resident as well, and you feel as if you have to answer these people because that is what you are experiencing yourself. So, it does help working for the paper and living in the area.

Interviewer: Okay, and so to what extent do you participate in community events? Would you attend community events?

Journalist 6: I would participate, for example I am participating in the women's race although it is not for work, although this is not in Fourways, it's Randburg but I would do it if it was in Fourways too. Or even if they have an SPCA, because I really love pets, because I wish I owned a dog, because my Mom hates animals so I wish I had my own pet, so I would help out or participate in such initiatives, even though I'm not doing it for the paper, just to groom a dog for a day, just to help out. Or run, if possible. I would participate in such things.

Interviewer: And what about something like a CPF meeting, would you go on your own accord? Or a Residents' Association meeting.

Journalist 6: I would, it depends what the topic is. If it is crime related, I would go. If it's just a normal meeting, get to know the CPF, if I was a normal resident I don't think I would be able to unless I was working.

Interviewer: And have you been before as a resident?

Journalist 6: No I didn't even know about CPFs before. I didn't even know. But I learnt a lot in that regard. But I would go if there was like crime issues. As a resident, it [interests] me.

Interviewer: The next set of questions are about how you as a journalist serve the community?

Journalist 6: Also, on the previous topic. I believe that in order for a journalist or us, the paper, in order to grab someone's attention, even though the CPF would say this is a monthly meeting, or the crime awareness that is happening at Dainfern Square, that is something quite interesting for residents to know but what they don't realise is that they fail to pitch to the community, and the community don't know. For example, for the clean-up, the community didn't know there was going to be a clean-up and I was thinking to myself, what happened, was it the marketing people. So I was thinking to myself, us, on our

side, if we know of something, we need to fight more to make sure that people as much [aware of such events], as we make people aware of Taste of Joburg and events like that. People need to be aware of community initiatives, like, 'Come help clean-up', 'Come help with crime', 'Come raise awareness', that would be really nice if people read something like that and then CPF people realise okay, people are aware of much, because when I was just a resident, I wasn't aware of much. And, another thing I have noticed is with our estate, complex, I don't know who delivers our papers, but the other time I was asking for the paper, I realised that the paper was just there bundled up, and it was a Thursday, and I was like, why is it still here? He was like, ah ma'am, they don't even take the papers. So I think, distribution wise, I think if Caxton were to realise where, to trace how far the paper goes into getting into someone's home. Even if they have to roll and bundle it and throw it into everybody's front doors, I think it would be much better.

Interviewer: Is this for inside complexes?

Journalist 6: Yes, inside complexes. Make sure that they are not bundled up and thrown away. They should just follow up on how far the paper is [distributed], because it is free, why not give it to everyone, however possible.

Interviewer: How do you gather news for the newspaper?

Journalist 6: I struggled when I started here. I had no idea, because it was a new place and new faces, new things to get used to. For example, I didn't know what was newsworthy for the community and what wasn't. I remember in my first week I was telling the group editor that I saw this, this and that, and the group editor was like, 'Be careful, you have to make sure that it is interesting. Would the community like that event, or would the community like to know about that?' And then I started to get to understand what people like and what people don't like. For example, my boyfriend would be like, why don't you tell them about this, and I'm like, 'It's not interesting to the community.' I said to him, 'I was once like you, I didn't understand what was important to the community

and what wasn't.' So how I gather my news would be, I just realise, would I want to read about that? Is it important to me? If it's not important, I walk past.

Interviewer: Okay, and how do you get most of your stories? Are they sent to you?

MB: Ya, mostly my [news] editor sends it to me or raises my, or says there's this, this or that, will you check what it is? 'Check this, the JRA', check whoever. And also with Fourways Mall, my group editor linked me up with the management and we got to have a bond and whatever issues they have and whatever stories they have, they would call me and let me know what is happening, and they are developing stories. Sometimes I just gather stories from seeing something, and then you just go from there. I prefer events because with events, you just get the story there and you follow up.

Interviewer: Okay, and how does that happen?

Journalist 6: I don't know when I get there, I just smile with the PR people and they PR people end up liking me and say, let's just go there. For example, on Tuesday I went to a Bollywood event, and then the PR lady was like we have a whatnot and there is limited people who are coming, please come through, and I was like, oh okay, why not, and then I ended up with another story. So I just ended up linking with people, talking to them and then people really do send stories. My [news] editor always tells me that when you go to events, people end up giving you stories, I didn't really understand how true and real it was, but until you go there, you realise people do give you stories.

Interviewer: Okay, so you get stories from them being sent to you, from attending events and from driving around the area?

Journalist 6: Ya, ya.

Interviewer: And how often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 6: Mostly on a daily basis, because I talk with everyone. I talk a lot. I am from a family where everyone matters. I interact with everyone from business people to people on the street. For example, on Jan Smuts, there in Randburg, there are these young guys who dance on crates, or boxes, and I was like oh my word, if only I was a *Randburg Sun* journalist I would be able to help these kids because they need exposure and somewhere to showcase their talent at some theatre, like a shopping centre. I interact with most people, because it is a community newspaper after all.

Interviewer: How do those conversations take place?

Journalist 6: The face-to-face ones are normal everyday people. But sometimes it's mostly on the phone for people who complain to me, 'This is what's happening, I don't understand, please help me. Help us with the situation.' And mostly via email with PR- related people. With the community, I prefer talking to them face-to-face, because that's when you realise the seriousness of the frustrations they have, but mostly it is on the phone because they get to call us. They call the office more than they see us. But mostly if they do have a story, I do approach them [to meet face-to-face].

Interviewer: Okay, cool and how do you decide on whether something is news worthy or not for *Fourways Review* in particular?

Journalist 6: What I decide is that I just evaluate if the story is newsworthy.

Interviewer: What would make you include a story in the newspaper, for example, what story are you working on now?

Journalist 6: I am working on the 67 Blankets for Mandela, where they were thanking van lines because they helped to transport the blankets to the Union Buildings and what-not.

Interviewer: Okay, and why is that story important?

Journalist 6: Because it is very [seldom] that you see the big names appreciate the small people, or thank the small people. Because it is not something that they would have achieved on their own. The small people mattered and they gave them certificates signed by a community member.

Interviewer: And why is the community member important?

Journalist 6: Because she is a resident of Fourways, and so it was important for people to know that such a big name thanks the little people for something like that, for breaking the world record, and for being written in the books.

Interviewer: Okay, and so when a community member tells you about a story, what is some of the first things that come into your mind when you consider whether you should do the story for the paper? How does that process work?

Journalist 6: I check the deadline for the story. So if someone comes to me with a drug testing device which helps people at homes if someone is under the influence, I realise the importance of the story when I realise that it would help impact other people's lives, if not, and it is just something like a mushy type of story, I would still process it but not necessarily as if it so important. So newsworthy stories I gather them according to the deadline and if they are important to the audience. If not, then I would just process it just for readers' sake.

Interviewer: Okay, and do you think that other people in the newsroom share those types of news values.

Journalist 6: Okay, some do, some don't. I feel like I will answer the phone and someone [a community member] will say, "I'm asking for whoever, and I am just asking has this, this and this been done, and then you go to them

Interviewer: To the journalist?

Journalist 6: To the journalist, and you tell them about the message and they are like, "Ag". And you ask yourself, "Ag?" If it was me, I would be panicking! So

it is not the same because if a story is important to the deadline and important to people, even if it is a mushy story, it is important to the people who released it to you, so it is important that however many stories that you have set aside, the story should be as important. So, they are not the same [new values]. I would value a story, big or small. When they [the journalists] attitudes are just like 'Ag', and then they don't call back, it is just a messy situation.

Interviewer: Do you ever consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when you decide what to report on?

Journalist 6: I do a lot. Firstly, when I was with Rosebank I used to get to reporting lots of crime. I remember my first week on Fourways, I went on like and I was like, they've got cats! And they've got this and they've got that, why's it so mushy cushy. And I realised that it is better. The other paper was more serious, in that it covers crime, but this one covers, fine the serious crime, but it covers mushy and entertainment, which is what I prefer to report on. I prefer the entertainment than the hard news. Now I realise that balancing is important rather than letting one become greater than the other.

Interviewer: Is that because you like to read entertainment news?

Journalist 6: Not really, it's just I realised life is not all about being serious. I prefer hard news to crime stories, because I remember this other old lady who said, "I'm tired of watching the news, it always covers people dying or this is happening, and why can't they have something light and easy to the heart, because people don't want to feel bombarded by something bad all the time. They want to see, the MEC did this, the CPF did that, there is a clean-up, even though it's not entertainment, it is much lighter, so I prefer reading hard news, entertainment, community than your crime or hectic stories because it is easier on the heart. It doesn't frustrate you more, thinking why is it so bad, oh, are we going to have another break-in seeing that the other road had this. So it is better when you read it and report on something lighter to the heart.

Interviewer: How does your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding reporting on stories?

Journalist 6: It's hectic, hectic, hectic, hectic. It's like fine, you meet someone, and you get to form a bond with them, some kind of relation, and then they rely on you to process a story, and then further on, you rely on them for quotes or information, and then you end up feeling like, not a tit-for-tat situation, but either way, you have to please. And sometimes, either way, you have to, for example, I am even scared of it. Me and my editor were talking about this other warrant officer and then someone else [a community member] tipped me off that he may be something else, and I was discouraged. But then I realised that different people have different relationships and I feel like I treat them equally. But I am worried that in the near future if I quote him and then he says, I didn't say that, I am worried that he will stab me in the back, but I don't want to feel like that or do that, because I have already established that bond. So, although I try to establish everyone's relations, I realise that it's not easy, and because although that person that gave me a tip-off says that about him [the warrant officer], I haven't had that experience. So, I realise that it is challenging.

Interviewer: And do those relationships influence you to write something a certain way in your stories?

Journalist 6: So far no, because I always try to write things fairly. For example, I say, 'This warrant officer said this, this and that.' Not, 'Failed to say this', I am not that type of journalist, unless the sub-editors say I need to word it a different story. It is just telling it like it is. Not saying I am scared or anything, it is just that rather let things, bygone be bygone unless it is a hectic issue and I've got to do it and say, 'He didn't want to give me a statement.' So the decisions that I make are very important but I am not scared. I am one person who is not scared of saying it how it is, but for now, not really.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story? Do you ever worry about how the community will receive a certain story or photo?

Journalist 6: I do. There is this other story that I did on Rosebank. I took a story of a dead body. My first dead body. And then my digital editor was like, okay, we are putting it up, front page or whatever and I was like, "Are you seriously kidding me? This is something that people are going to put on their coffee tables." Because at the end of the day, it is quite serious, someone died. However they died is not important. So, it is important how one covers the story or, maybe for example, you can take a gruesome photo, but don't include gruesome content. People really don't want to read about this and that. I am a very sensitive person and I wouldn't want to read about that, for example, unless it was about criminals or a criminal who got justice because they raped someone, then it's okay, but if it is nothing important to put in, why put it in. Our readers, at the end of the day, are very sensitive, because you can't say, for sensitive readers, don't read below, like you can on TV. With newspaper you can't alert someone. I get sensitive about a story of a five-year-old who got raped. It's very sensitive, because I want to have kids one day and I don't want that to happen. For example, that was someone's son or daughter. It's very sensitive for one to read, so I do consider sensitive content.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 6: Not really. I remember, my editor and I discussed an event of MG, where media people test drove Mercedes and they just enjoyed it. The PR people sent through a story about winning the car. We went around the story for the fact that seeing that the advertising is about this, let's go about it like this.

Interviewer: So how did you go about your story?

Journalist 6: So I wrote about the fact about people test driving the latest MGs, and what-not and how the day was. The whole story didn't even mention winning the car.

Interviewer: So you know how to angle the story for your readers?

Journalist 6: Yes, with lots of help from my editor, because I didn't know that Caxton doesn't cover stories where there is gambling or winning [if the competition is not run by or in partnership with the company].

Interviewer: Okay, and say you are doing a particular story and you know that that company advertises with the newspaper. Does it ever influence the way you write stories?

Journalist 6: Yes, it does. I wrote a crime story, and I wrote the name of the garage and my editor said to me, 'No, no, no, we can't state the name of the garage, because they advertise with us and if they have their name in it, we need comment from them.' So, then I realised that I must just be aware of the advertisers so that they don't retract advertising from us, because it is very important.

Interviewer: Do you as a journalist consult with your sub-editors and editors to discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? How does that process work, do you just submit your stories or do you have discussions?

Journalist 6: Mostly I just submit my stories, because I haven't really had a difficult story in which I have had to consult my sub-editors but like I remember with the gruesome picture [of the dead body] I spoke to my digital editor and I was like, I feel like this is quite scary for our readers. But he was like, 'Ag no, it's fine as long as the face is covered.' So, then I realised, this is the approach that you might use and this is the approach that you might not use. But in future if I do have questions advertising-wise or if I do have sensitive material, I will obviously contact my sub-editors and editors. I would even pass it onto my

other [group] editor. For example, in Midrand, my other colleague took a photo and there was a body, and I was like, 'Did you go there?' I thought that I was a ballsy type of journalist, but I'm not, because you could see there was a body, and the body was not covered, because they blurred the face, so I don't think I would be able to do that. Because it is very sensitive. I would consult my editors and seniors about it.

Interviewer: And how are difficult decisions in the newsroom made?

Journalist 6: They are very important. My editor would ask how important the stories are for the deadline of the newspaper.

Interviewer: And then, with something like a decision of whether or not to publish a photo of a body, who makes those decisions.

Journalist 6: Mostly the editor. And possible, the group editor will intervene to say whether or not something is good enough to publish.

Interviewer: And who makes the final decision in the newsroom?

Journalist 6: Mostly the news editor and the group editor. It is the news editor in regards to the content in the paper and then the group editor evaluates the newspaper and whether it is newsworthy and decent for a reader. And mostly it is both of them.

Interviewer: And how often have you experienced difficult decisions being made in the newsroom?

Journalist 6: Not often. The difficult decisions arise when we consider the time of the story. For example, I managed to obtain a video from David O'Sullivan [personality], because I gave my details to the ADT [security company people] and they gave my details to him and he said okay, you can come and get it. I didn't even believe it, but it was a decision that I have to make. He has the energy to type out that I can come and get it. And that was a good decision I made because then I got the video about a robbery, with visuals and Caxton

had it exclusively. And plus, they are big names. So decisions are made when you prove as a journalist that you are interested in the whole story, then difficult decisions are easy to make.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on this content?

Journalist 6: Not often. I am happy. Mostly, me, I am mostly understand why content isn't used or how, and I ask questions if I don't understand. But mostly I get it, because I am not that pushy and I believe that my seniors know better and that they have experience in whatever decisions need to be done with regards to the paper, and I mostly watch and learn and maybe one day I will be the one teaching others, so I don't disagree much, unless I really think that they are missing the point.

Interviewer: And have you ever had a situation where you have disagreed with a decision on content?

Journalist 6: Two weeks back, my editor and I had a story on Fourways Mall explosions, and the subs, I don't know how, but they sort of missed the point and stated that they were responding on that date, and rather they were responding to [explosions that happened] on that date, so I managed to disagree with that content in that sense and I wanted readers to see it.

Interviewer: And what did you do to try to resolve the problem?

Journalist 6: Me and my editor sat down and we managed to type up the correct information. Me and my editor realised that it was not necessary to paint it in a bad light, but I think that is where the sub-editors got confused, and so we managed to make it newsworthy and readable, as we made it clear that Fourways Mall was responding only to that date.

Interviewer: And did the sub-editors have backlash or was the news editor's decision final?

Journalist 6: The news editor's decision was final. We fixed it and then the story was sent back to the sub-editors and my news editor managed to make my sub-editor read and understand that that is what it was. I didn't see any backlash or bad vibe. The sub-editor understood, oh, that is what the story was about.

Interviewer: Are there pressures by advertisers or community members?

Journalist 6: Yes, both. Especially by PRs because they send press releases to my editor and she sends it to the journalists and then the journalists would try to start prioritising the stories. And then they realise, that a story slipped by and then you get calls or emails from advertisers saying, 'Has this been online, please send me the link' and I feel like they are asking too much, and they need to understand that it is not just them only, there are hundreds more sent to us. So I feel that there are a lot of pressures. But if one was able to schedule it or prioritise it, one would be able to satisfy everyone, even the community members. You conduct an interview with someone and they want to see it in two days. For example, there is this other guy who owns a football club; he expects things to happen, just jump. He was complaining that he was speaking to my digital and new editors and no one is helping him and now he is speaking to me and I hope that I will fulfil everything that he wants but then he wants too much.

Interviewer: So it is mainly the timeframes of stories, the minute you interview a community member, they want it to be published?

Journalist 6: They want it next week, and you think, gosh, the week is almost up, I already have nine or twelve stories already sent through for the week, when am I going to do it. So I mostly don't promise everyone, when they call that I realise that it has been too long, then I tell them, okay maybe this week. If not, I say they can keep checking, they will give us more clicks if they do that.

Interviewer: And how often are you faced with pressures like that?

Journalist 6: On a daily basis, especially now that I don't mind giving people my WhatsApp, and now one community member is on my colleague's tail. I just feel that is who they are, they put pressure on everyone because I feel that everyone in the community feels as though they are more important than the next. For example one member of the CPF will feel more important than another member of the CPF or that warrant officer, and you ask yourself, you guys are the same. Just because this person commented on this, here, you want to get your comment there, oh, come on. So it is not easy to please the community members or PRs, and PRs are cheats. They take you out to nice events and stuff only to get something in return.

Interviewer: Have you ever had an experience where you have felt pressured into not publishing a story because of community members or advertisers?

Journalist 6: Not really. So, far I have not had pressure to retract a story. But yesterday or the day before I received a letter from a community member who was wanting to give thanks to another group. I sat there and said no, I can't be the person that went there to speak to them [the board], I just felt that I can't process this letter with ulterior motives, I just felt that maybe someone else can do it, but not me, I take stories personally. I feel that if I went there, it is mine and it did not deserve backlash so I retracted [did not process] that letter and gave it to my news editor who gave it to my group editor, and I haven't found out from my group editor yet, so I have had that issue.

Interviewer: And how often do pressures from the community, such as what they do or don't want to be published, or from advertisers, arise?

Journalist 6: Not that much, but the pressures with the community, they will want this to be included, but not that.

Interviewer: Can you give an example.

Journalist 6: An example would be this lady that I interviewed at the weekend, Irene, she gave me a story and then she gave me another story about her life

history and I was like oh my gosh, can I include it as a snippet, it was about her being raped, and being in an orphanage where she was bullied and then her having a fiancé who was killed in an accident, and so I told her, can I include this in the story that I am doing, about the ward, because she said a quote that, “Douglasdale gave her a sense of warmth and it was a home she never had.” So, I was like, wow, that is profound, I would like to include it in the story and so I told her, this is how I am thinking of doing this, and she was like, no, not yet, we can do that in another story. So I feel that the pressure from the community on the content is too much, because they end up dictating what you should and shouldn’t write, and I get annoyed by that because that’s how I write. It’s good to have a human interest angle.

She also had a thing of no, don’t take my picture now. Whereas, most people I interview, I insist on taking a photo. So community members do put pressure on how it’s written, when it is in the paper. Community members believe it is a popularity status. I understand it, because it is like a popularity contest, I feel like they tell everyone, watch-out for the next *Fourways Review*, I will be in it. But I say, if you relax, it might be a cover page or a spread, but if you pressure it, it may be something small. So, they do influence a lot.

Interviewer: How would you describe the separation of the adverts and editorial content of the newspaper?

Journalist 6: Confusing, because you get to enjoy the newspaper, and then you see the car, and I am like oh my word, I want to continue with the paper. So I think they should leave them to the end, end, end.

Interviewer: Is that the pull-out supplements?

Journalist 6: Yes, people end up leaving them, kids can play with the ads, but the main content they want, even with my friends, they have the thin copies of *Fourways Review*. Some that don’t like reading will have the ads, but they are not that important.

Interviewer: Is there a story that you can remember that you ever thought that it would upset the community, and therefore you did not publish it?

Journalist 6: The one where a group submitted an application form at Region A, Johannesburg. And so they were there and happy they were able to submit it. And then, here you are, with someone who saw it, and I don't know the history behind the community members, but I picked up quickly on the phone, because he said he just wants to know how come, one resident gets to call you guys, and you guys get to submit comments about him and then you guys get to write everything he wants in the paper and we don't. So, I am going to give you something to give to them to thank them for submitting their thing and that we are on our way to submitting our thing, so please publish it next to his article. That was on Monday on 5 October. I'm thinking, this guy is dictating what I should do. I went straight to my news editor, told her everything about the issue of this person pressurising this article.

Interviewer: So, it's kind of like the community has a history that you don't know about?

Journalist 6: Yes, they have a history I don't even know about.

Interviewer: And then they are using the newspaper to fight their battles?

Journalist 6: Yes, they are using the newspaper, because he wanted his story in the paper, next to the other article, and little does he know, we are not going to do something like that. He called because he saw it online. I am like I don't know how, because my editor didn't say anything about you being able to send the letter [to use in the paper] so I'm like fine, I opened the letter, read it, and realised that it was too much. I realised that besides it upsetting everyone, or confusing the community, or alerting that these two people are fighting. So I realised, let's just not use it and my editors felt the same way and so it died down.

Interviewer: How often do instances like that arise?

Journalist 6: So far, it is the first instance.

Interviewer: What processes are in place so that you won't upset the community?

Journalist 6: Mostly I use wording. For example, there was a story of a missing girl, which didn't managed to get published as the girl was found, but I wrote it in such a way that anyone who has a child would want to stop what they are doing and help that girl. And nice pictures.

Interviewer: Do you feel like when there are sensitive stories, is it a team effort, or would you just submit the story?

Journalist 6: It's a team. I remember a time when my news and digital editor were working on a story of police brutality. Me and the team managed to gather the information in a way to make the community aware that this brutality happened, make them aware that this is something that shouldn't be allowed, and that we need to unite. Besides being sworn at by young guys, you shouldn't let that temper go to your head. There was another angle that I should have used, but I didn't manage to do it, but what a lawyer said, or what the CPF state what happened, the DA people, everyone [in the community] managed to get across what they thought in that instance, and so the team, we really worked hard on alerting that brutality should not be allowed, as sensitive as it is.

Interviewer: The next questions are about what role you as a journalist believe you play in the newsroom. So, what role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 6: Mostly, we are the message bearers. We are the key people that help and let the community know what is happening. For example, I really love events because not only do we enjoy, because it's a chance to let people know, *Fourways Review* was there. Not *The Star* or *City Press* covering it when it happened in our area. It doesn't make sense to have an event and then not have anything in the paper, even if it is a week later, at least it is there. Our role

is to make sure that we represent our area well, more than any other province or paper or national paper, because it will show that we are really lacking. As journalists we believe we should cover, even if it is the smallest little thing. Even if it is crime awareness, we need to go, it's bad not to go, it's like missing out on a popular event or party, it's like, "Where were you?"

Interviewer: And how would you describe the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 6: I will say something that I have heard in the community. Me and another *Fourways Review* journalist went to this Lonehill event, and the people there were like, 'Oh my word, I don't buy papers anymore, I just rely on *Fourways Review*. *Fourways Review*'s quality is quite good.' And this other guy said that he loves the crime stories and then when he has enough of crime he loves to read the community events. I was wondering if they were sucking up but certain groups were saying the same thing. Besides being community newspaper, we really reach the standard of a newspaper that gets to be bought. *Fourways Review*'s content is very good. I looked at this week's paper and I see that the quality of the photos were good quality, it is decent.

Interviewer: Okay. How would you describe your role in the *Fourways Review* community?

Journalist 6: My role is very difficult because as I said, I have to please. It is very difficult because you have to make sure you please everyone, and you have to meet everyone. Like tomorrow, on 9 October, I have to meet one resident, and I am like, urg I don't want to go but it is my role to go. It's like yesterday, I went to this street fighters club. I went and sat inside, I have never been before, but I went inside, but if it wasn't for my job, it if wasn't for this role of pleasing the community, I wouldn't have gone. I even told them that I am coming out as a different person. So, basically it is one thing that I can take from it and it is one thing that they can take from me. So it is very important, and besides being a message bearer in the community, it is important for me to

experience all these things. Fourways is huge, and everything is happening, so you get to learn a lot.

Interviewer: What has influenced you in how you have defined your role in the community?

Journalist 6: It's like, the Heritage Day event at Riversands, it was a mere orchestra playing, I took my in-laws too and they had also never experienced something like this. I've never been to something like that before, and neither had they, so it exposes you to many things. And then you give that to the community so they can see that, oh Heritage Day had this, maybe next year, they will have the same, and people will go.

Interviewer: So it is sort of like educating people too.

Journalist 6: Very much so.

Interviewer: What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Journalist 6: I don't want to say an animal, but you know when you run around and you are everywhere, like when you are chasing, like please them. I feel like I need to be everywhere, chasing them, in order to deliver the message, because if I am not there, then there is no message [for the community] and the community will not know what is happening. So, my role as a journalist is to be everywhere, so you make sure you don't miss out.

Interviewer: And so that relationship that you have with the community, you feel like you work for them?

Journalist 6: I wouldn't say work, but I would say that it is my duty. It's my duty to make sure that I please the community. My relationship I fulfil. For me, my duty is that the message is delivered and that they [community members] know what is happening. If I am free, why not?

Interviewer: Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Journalist 6: The CPF, the crime people, basically the people who make sure the residents are safe. If the residents don't feel like they are safe, then there is no paper. And the SPCA people are important too.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant "voice" in the newspaper?

Journalist 6: Yes, they are dominant because I feel that they are involved in the paper, so I feel like they are in the paper more, but not bullying the paper, like one resident is bullying the paper. If he is more understanding, feeds us with information, relevant information, not ulterior motive type of information.

Interviewer: So how would community members be "involved" with the paper?

Journalist 6: So, like a police officer is feeding us stories. That's being involved. Sending the journalists stories and photos is being involved. One community member asked me to "please" come. Saying "please" helps. So if you as a person contact the paper, let the paper know of your events, your voice will be heard, you will influence the paper.

Interviewer: Would you say are the marginalised community members?

Journalist 6: There are marginalised community members. I wouldn't say anyone was bigger or better than another. I see everyone as equal but a warrant officer's title may be more important than a CPF chair's comment in a serious crime story.

Interviewer: As for regular community members, is there a suburb that you haven't reported on? Is there a reason why some community members are featured more than others?

Journalist 6: I feel like yes, but it is because we are not focused on a particular suburb. I remember my colleague was going to cover an event and she was like, I've never been there before, hey. And I also hadn't been there, so I feel it is like either we are not balancing it [the area] out enough or we are not

focusing on those areas enough, so it is either they don't give us stories, but those areas or suburbs are not reached because we don't get to drive there.

Interviewer: And why is that?

Journalist 6: For example, say when I have a week of a bit of crime, hard news and lots of events and press releases.

Interviewer: Covering events?

Journalist 6: Yes, events and sending press releases and putting pressure on when they are out, and that puts pressure on your day to say, okay, let me knock off at 3.30pm to drive around a bit on my way home to just check where I have never been. So it is like, those prominent voices, because they are mostly on your tail, and then you don't get to see some of those suburbs that you have never seen to find out what is newsworthy.

Interviewer: And so, where would most of your stories come from?

Journalist 6: Community members, or my editor would tip me off [about a story], or I would also ask myself, like a story of a pothole but when I got to do the story, they had already covered it up. It's like a story that I am working on at Troupant Avenue, when I called the guy, they sent the workers to fix it.

Interviewer: Can you explain what happened there?

Journalist 6: The water entity was installing pipes along Troupant Avenue and they've apparently stopped work for a couple of weeks. The community called in, I took up the story, went to take pictures. Following day, I called the water entity, asked him questions. Then today, I spoke to the resident and they said that they have started working on it.

Interviewer: So, why were the residents complaining in the first place?

Journalist 6: It was bad, I wouldn't have wanted that myself. It was frustrating that the water entity left their pavements like that. Then, when *Fourways Review*

stepped in, then the water entity was working. But I told the [resident] that I am still going to write the story. What a coincidence it is that after *Fourways Review* stepped in, they started working.

Interviewer: And is that the first time that you have experienced something like that at the paper?

Journalist 6: Not really, I remember with the street lights were not working, and so I called in, left a message and then all of a sudden, you go there and work, and just because you don't get into trouble for that.

Interviewer: And the community, why do you think they contact the paper?

Journalist 6: I feel like it is a source of frustration. They need help. They feel like, they are not going to be helped by calling the water entity for example, their line is just going to be cut off. They think, I am just going to call the nearest point of help, which is the paper. Because, even though as much of a messenger, we are the voice of the community and a source of help.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 6: Not much, but I remember since I moved to *Fourways Review* I love pets. It's mainly community stories, there are crime stories but the readers prefer community types of stories. Online, you get to see what the readers share online. Your community types of stories, like CPF run, they like to see those stories.

From community members calling in and talking to them on a daily basis helps to know what they want to read.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend focusing on giving the readers what they want to read opposed to what you as a journalist/editor think the community ought to know?

Journalist 6: I focus on what I feel like. I do get pressure, for example I prioritise what I feel is right. One community member, messaged me at midnight. He called in to say sorry for messaging so late. Fine, the community comes first but it is my call at the end of the day, because, if it wasn't for me, such a story wouldn't be happening. Sometimes if I feel that someone is pressuring me too much, I feel like leaving it for a day, because I feel like if it is not a matter of urgency, then you shouldn't be pressurising me too much.

Interviewer: What are some of the ethical problems that you have had to deal with?

Journalist 6: I have this problem that this other lady told me about this other person, who I need to get information from, and I became worried I would get misinformation from that person, so I told my editor and it was just between us, but it is one of those things, what if they are having their own fight, I don't want to get involved.

In a way it has influenced me in a little degree, I thank her for telling me because I will record a conversation with the other person now so I can prove it. I am genuine to him and I will act the same, but I will be careful. But I put them at the same bar, no one is different to the other, they are all on the same bar.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 6: I do. As a journalist, nothing should prevent you from telling the truth, but that also applies to national newspapers, which I think are very ruthless, according to me. Community newspapers are close to home, I feel that I need them [community members] as much as they need me. I feel that whatever information that I give out, I need to make sure that whatever information that is in it, needs to be okay. If it is the truth, then I will do it, but if it is not necessary I won't upset community members. It is to keep the community members happy. To make sure that there is no unnecessary fights,

unnecessary feuds because what you put out in the paper is very important because people take things to heart.

Interviewer: How does your view of how a journalist should report influence the way you as a community journalist/editor define your role in the community?

Journalist 6: The way I was taught in school, the principles, what I have studied and what I learnt has influenced me as a journalist. I do set a boundary.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations?

Journalist 6: I think 80 to 85 percent.

Interviewer: What do you think is not meeting the community's expectations?

Journalist 6: *Fourways Review* is meeting a lot of the community's expectations. Not a lot of schools are reported. With a community paper, it's always community event, this is what they did and the community loves to read that. I can't think off the top of my head what they are not meeting.

Interviewer: And ultimately do you feel like you are fulfilling the role of a community journalist and do you believe that *Fourways Review* is fulfilling the purpose of a community newspaper?

Journalist 6: Yes, I do, because everyone responds to their articles in a happy manner. I haven't responded to any backlash on articles on anything so far. Someone even asked for me to drop off the newspaper for her. Traffic and all, I went and dropped it off and then she mailed her people and thanked me for the coverage and it was like, at least I did something right and something nice. It's like you are fulfilling their expectations in a way, even though it is just a community story, and it doesn't mean much to you, when you get a thank you, you realise that you are doing something right and that you are meeting their requirements. And it's not only them, so you get to realise that people are very

happy with the way you cover them, and so although it's not really something [important].

Interviewer: And is there any way that you think the journalists could be fulfilling that role better?

Journalist 6: Us journalists, I am not saying that the system needs to be changed but us journalists, if you are not on duty and you have time, why not attend. For example, this weekend, one journalist said something about going somewhere and it is another journalist's weekend. For *Fourways Review*, in order for us not to be left out, let's just go around and attend, as long as we don't get left behind.

Interviewer: Okay last question, how do you see your career at *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 6: Honestly speaking with my diploma, I chose broadcasting. But I ended up being here. I feel like I would be a news reporter for maybe five years, magazines, and broadcasting maybe later on, so to be an all-round journalist, not just news reporting.

Interviewer: How accessible do you think the *Fourways Review* newsroom is to community members?

Journalist 6: We are [accessible], because people have our Twitter handles and email addresses. Sometimes, a community member will call and a note will be left for the journalist and then the note gets pushed aside, so we need a better database for when people call in because we can't just give out everyone's numbers. We do have dedicated staff though. The community doesn't know, they just think we are busy, but they also don't understand how much we need to do in a week. I think it's a small team. If we at least had four reporters, with three we are managing. It is a big area to cover, but as the week progresses, the more stories there are to fulfil.

JOURNALIST 7

Interviewer: How long have you been on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 7: Since July, about six months, somewhere there.

Interviewer: Okay and previously you were on *Rosebank Killarney* [*Gazette*], for how long?

Journalist 7: Six months.

Interviewer: Also six months, okay.

Interviewer: So you started [at Caxton] at the beginning of this year?

Journalist 7: Ya

Interviewer: And do you have any experience in other newspapers?

Journalist 7: No, okay, UJ paper

Interviewer: And how long did you work there?

Journalist 7: I think a year or so

Interviewer: For a student newspaper?

Journalist 7: Ya

Interviewer: What did you do on that paper? Did you write news for it?

Journalist 7: Entertainment.

Interviewer: Do you have a degree from UJ?

Journalist 7: Yes

Interviewer: In journalism?

Journalist 7: Yes

Interviewer: Have you worked for any provincial or national papers?

Journalist 7: No

Interviewer: So you live in Bloubastrand?

Journalist 7: Yes

Interviewer: And how long have you lived there?

Journalist 7: For a couple of years, more than five years.

Interviewer: Do you believe that living within the *Fourways Review* distribution area helps you to assess the community's needs more accurately?

Journalist 7: I think it does, like I don't stay in Kyalami so when I have to write a story about Kyalami I had to sort of read back and try to understand what they were talking about and to try to understand some of the issues that the community has, so it does actually help, but at the same time, even if you don't live in the area, you can still try to understand.

Interviewer: And how does being close to the area help?

Journalist 7: It does help as well. And I think if you are close to it, you sort of understand some of the issues because they are very, they are inter-linked in some way or another.

Interviewer: Do you participate in community events, such as events at a shopping centre and attend community meetings, such as CPF meetings?

Journalist 7: Only because sometimes it is for work. If it wasn't for work, I'd do the, obviously for Monte because it's entertainment in the area, so I use the facilities.

Interviewer: And for something like your residents' association meeting, would you go if you weren't working for the paper?

Journalist 7: I don't think so, unless I actually owned property in the area, under my name. Maybe my parents go, and stuff like that but I personally don't go.

Interviewer: And CPF [meetings]?

Journalist 7: No, CPFs, never.

Interviewer: And for public participation, a [meeting] on a road that was getting developed, have you ever been to those types of meetings?

Journalist 7: No, I haven't. I know that I have complained about potholes cause there was a lot of potholes in the area, so I have complained about that but I have never actually been to a meeting.

Interviewer: Okay, and when you complained about them, did you log a call with JRA?

Journalist 7: Yes, you will call JRA, find out who the person you need to speak to is, and then you will speak to that person.

Interviewer: On how many occasions have you done that?

Journalist 7: Once.

Interviewer: These next questions are on how you think that you should serve the community. How do you gather news for the newspaper?

Journalist 7: Most of it is mostly by people calling in, or emailing, or you know tips or tip-offs.

Interviewer: And when you are at stories, do people give you stories?

Journalist 7: That does happen, sometimes people will see that if it is a story written in the paper, then they will complain about a certain angle, or they will say, please try to take this angle, then you can see, oh there are two sides to the story which is always interesting.

Interviewer: Okay, and how often do you interact with the community members?

Journalist 7: I think it's daily because you get a few calls or maybe four times a week, out of the Monday to Friday.

Interviewer: And is it mainly phone calls or meeting them in person or email?

Journalist 7: It's mixed, because I can't be there all the time. I prefer being in the community and speaking to people, because that feels more real, but it's very mixed, email, telephone and face-to-face. If I am not in the office, then it's cheaper to WhatsApp

Interviewer: And what about social media? Do you ever get stories from Facebook or Twitter?

Journalist 7: Mainly Facebook. I think because of the groups, there is the CPF group, the Lonehill Group.

Interviewer: And that also for talking to people or is it mainly for seeing something posted.

Journalist 7: It's for finding stories.

Interviewer: The next questions are on news values. How do you decide whether something is newsworthy for the *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 7: It's a bit difficult sometimes because sometimes you don't think something is newsworthy, but the community thinks it is newsworthy. So I might think, okay, this is not so important, but then I keep getting calls about the same

thing, and then I realise okay fine, it's important to the community so then I think, okay, this is important.

Interviewer: And can you remember an example of one of those [experiences]?

Journalist 7: I'm going to use the K56 story because, personally I thought okay, we do need a road in the area. I knew nothing about the whole green issue, and then the community started telling me, no, it's going to break the equestrian community, so then you were like, okay, there is more to the whole, just making a road for the community, and so forth.

Interviewer: When you are looking at a story, what type of news values do you consider? What would make a story relevant for *Fourways Review* to report on?

Journalist 7: When you come from varsity, you always think of the national, but working for a community newspaper you have to consider, okay, this is important for this community because of A,B and C or for previous issues. Sometimes it is more national than it is community because that is what sticks out more, but then it would have to relate to the area somehow. It must be interesting.

Interviewer: Do you think everyone in the team share the same values?

Journalist 7: It could be a bit different because you look at different things, and you think, okay, well this person could be focused on this part of the community and you can sort of see the different interests in people.

Interviewer: In the different types of beats?

Journalist 7: Ya, it is always in Fourways, so it does [relate to the Fourways area].

Interviewer: Do you consider what you would like to read in a community newspaper when you are thinking of what stories to report on? How does that thought-process work?

Journalist 7: I don't, I always think about the Fourways community and what they would want, opposed to what I would read.

Interviewer: Is that also, if you had a story that you wanted to work on, but someone called in and wanted their story to be prioritised, which would you prioritise?

Journalist 7: I would prioritise their story. Sometimes their stories are easier and what you want to work on takes more time for information gathering and that could be easily done. Sometimes I don't realise that something might be important to the community, so I always try to put the community members first, because it is a community paper, and I would be writing a whole lot of opinionated stuff.

Interviewer: To what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions you make.

Journalist 7: Sometimes it does affect because some people are more pushy, and some people will call you and the news editor, sometimes you do need to do the story for someone pushy. Sometimes I do [prioritise] someone's story if they are pushy, but sometimes I will leave it. If the person has a very close relationship with the newsroom, before I even got here, and they know what's going on. It does happen.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when you are deciding to publish a photo, so a photo of a dead animal or person?

Journalist 7: I haven't really experiences something too hectic but I think I would just put it out there. You are going to get a response, whether you like it or not, so I mean, I got a few emails from some people after I published a story who were against, but then I got an email from someone who liked it. You can't please everyone in the community, you are always going to have those 10 percent of people who agree and those who disagree, so I think you just need to put it there and deal with the consequences afterwards.

Interviewer: Do you remember covering a sensitive story?

Journalist 7: In a story of a woman who was chopped into pieces, I think that one was covered well because the body was covered and at the same time, the family didn't know.

Interviewer: Do you ever think of the advertisers before you publish editorial content?

Journalist 7: No, I don't

Interviewer: If there was a story at a mall, and that mall advertises with *Fourways Review*, you would still go after the story, you wouldn't be worried?

Journalist 7: It's not my place to worry. The editor would have to decide. I would just give it to the editor and the editor would make that decision.

Interviewer: To what extent are you involved in publishing difficult stories?

Journalist 7: With advertisers, I don't even know the advertisers, I will see them in the newspaper but I am not involved in the advertising process at all, unless, with the malls, we need comment from the malls, so I am aware of that. And then with regards to bloody photos, we haven't had a lot of stories where we have had a lot of dead people or anything like that. At the same time, I won't use a horrible picture. I had an experience once where I knew the person who was on the front cover on the Daily Sun, whose body was chopped up, and I know this person, I was at the funeral, and I thought it was very distasteful because I mean the family members are going to see that and you can pick up this newspaper anywhere so I won't put up a photo of someone completely exposed like that.

Interviewer: Who usually handles those decisions?

Journalist 7: I will put it on the system and if the editors or sub editors have a question then they will probably come back to me. I will always write the story the way I think it should be written and will speak to my news editor.

Interviewer: And who makes the final decision.

Journalist 7: The news editor makes the final decision.

Interviewer: How often do you disagree with the decisions that are made on the content?

Journalist 7: With my story been edited and changed, the meaning was changed but I saw it before it went to press so I told the sub-editors, the meaning has been changed. It was the drug bust at Chartwell. It was changed a bit, it sounded different to what the principal told me. It wasn't a hectic change, but it did change the meaning a little bit but it wasn't something serious.

Some stories I see, I don't think they are important, but I always think back that it is a community paper so the values are a bit different to what you might want.

Interviewer: Do you know of any pressures by advertisers or community members?

Journalist 7: I think one community member is a bit hectic. He hasn't put hectic pressure on me but I think there are people in the community who push their agendas on the community, and he's one of them. A lot of the things he does have to be in the paper. He will push them into the paper, he will give you a press release and follow up on it. If this isn't in, then he will give something else to go in. Another lady she is also very pushy, and I think it is those people who have had a relationship with *Fourways Review*. Some people, their stuff has to be in the paper. They know the power of the media more than others.

Interviewer: Do their constant phone calls and emails make you feel obliged to write those stories?

Journalist 7: Yes, the lady, she called the group editor straight on and then it was in the paper.

Interviewer: Does your group editor knowing about the story make you feel obliged?

Journalist 7: Yes

Interviewer: And how often does that happen?

Journalist 7: It's not every week. Its certain community members. Some don't know how to get their stuff into the paper, so they don't make as much fuss.

Interviewer: What is it that you try to avoid by just putting those stories into the paper?

Journalist 7: I really don't mind being shouted at by the community. It's more for the editors. For the community, they need to be able to see different views in the community.

Interviewer: How separate are editorial and ads in the paper?

Journalist 7: They are very separate.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community?

Journalist 7: There is one story now, because I have a relationship with one community member, where some people say it's only handful of people who don't want the roads, and so that might irritate some people that I have relationships with.

Interviewer: How would you approach those stories?

Journalist 7: I am always just upfront with the community and tell them what I am working on and as long as I have both sides in the story, then I feel like I

have tried my part. Some people want to stay anonymous, which makes it difficult but I will always try to make it fifty-fifty.

Interviewer: The next section on how you view your role in the newsroom. What role do you think *Fourways Review* plays in the newsroom?

Journalist 7: It's quite important because some people read *Fourways Review* every week. They don't even read national news. It is the first paper they read in the week, it is the first source of information to find out what is going around the neighbourhood, so it is quite important. From the business side, they push for it because they know that a lot of the community members actually read the *Fourways Review*. And a lot of businesses actually want to have something in the paper to be recognised by the community.

Interviewer: How would you evaluate the quality of the content in *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 7: Sometimes it is okay, sometimes it's very good. It's just my opinion, sometimes I think something isn't newsworthy, but then you speak to the community and they want that story. For example the Penny story, it was on the front page, but she was so appreciative and gave a lesson on it, so I realised this is very important and it made me realise the role she plays in the community by telling her personal story. Then you realise certain things about the community?

Interviewer: How would you describe the quality of the paper?

Journalist 7: In terms of the writing, I think it is of a high standard, and in other papers you pick up errors more often. I think it's sometimes more strict [than national papers].

Interviewer: Is it a product that you are proud of when you are in the community?

Journalist 7: It is, but I mean you want to be at a national paper, or something bigger, I do have that at the back of my mind, that I would like to work for something more national.

Interviewer: How do you see your role at *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 7: I don't always see myself being at community newspaper. I think once you move to a national paper you miss the community news because you have more reign to do as you please. I think community papers have more freedom because with national papers they are pro and against different parties and you can pick that up. It's nice working for community papers because sometimes you feel like you don't need to please advertisers whereas national papers, you sometimes feel like they are trying to praise government or certain advertisers, and you can pick that up sometimes.

Interviewer: How do you define your role in the community?

Journalist 7: For Fourways, a lot of people think that once it is in the paper, once you [the journalists] speak to them, something will be done. They think that you have a magic wand and everything will be fixed, which isn't always the case. So my role is to speak out for some people or to bring certain issues to the water entity. Like there was a little leak in Little Fourways. They had tried with the water entity but they hadn't heard anything but when *Fourways Review* stepped in, then the water entity responded.

Interviewer: So you help the community to solve their issues, you give a voice to the community members' issues?

Journalist 7: Sometimes you really feel that you are their PR machines. Like a lot of companies, because they hold events, they want them in the paper and they push them more than the community members. I think they speak the loudest, they know the ins-and-outs of the media, they are more educated about that part.

Interviewer: The relationship that you have with the community members, how would you describe that relationship?

Journalist 7: I try to stay distant from some community members so that I don't feel obliged to report on them. I try to keep it as platonic as possible, so that I am not too close to whoever the case is. So that when I write something, I don't want to take sides.

Interviewer: Who are the most influential people in the community?

Journalist 7: It's always the people who know about *Fourways Review* or know the media. They are more outspoken. You get people who are pushy, but they don't know the news editor, group editor or the boss of Caxton but sometimes their stuff doesn't make it on the paper because they don't have those ties.

Interviewer: Is there any groups in the community have a dominant voice that is reflected in the community?

Journalist 7: I think it is balanced, because there are three journalists it is balanced, and the journalists know the different areas, because it is a big area to cover, so I may report more on Craigavon, but one journalist reports a lot on Diepsloot and the other journalist may be more close with the Magaliessig area, so I think that it is balanced.

Interviewer: Is there anyone marginalised in the community?

Journalist 7: Yes but I can't say who.

Interviewer: Why would some groups not be reported on? Is the area too big for the three journalists to cover all parts or is it because the dominant groups push their story too much?

Journalist 7: Maybe they don't have issues that they want in the paper, that could be the reason why we haven't reported on them, but I think that if they

come to us with an issue, we will report on it and at the same time I don't think we purposefully ignore certain people.

Interviewer: So people usually approach the paper with a story? To what extent do you go out and try to find a story? How many stories are sent through, how many do you find?

Journalist 7: Some of them are follow ups, when you are working on a story you find different stories or angles and then you look into that.

Interviewer: To what extent do your own views of what is important in the community guide which stories you report on?

Journalist 7: I think I like crime so I do always look at crime quicker than I do a pothole story. It's just personal preference.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 7: I know they want to read a lot of happy stories because some people don't want to see the crime in the paper at all. They want all the happy stories. From talking to people they say they want the little feel-good stories.

Interviewer: And other than talking to people in the community, how do you get that feedback?

Journalist 7: Sometimes when you write a story, the community will email you and they will say, oh I really liked this story, because it's a happy story, they always respond to happy stories, than they do to the bad stories.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend focusing what you think the community wants to read or what you think your editors think they ought to know.

Journalist 7: Most of the stories are what the community wants to read, because at the end of the day, it is their paper. I will mostly prioritise what they want to read as opposed to what I want.

Interviewer: Have you had any problems with ethics that you have had to death with?

Journalist 7: I don't think so.

Interviewer: How would ethical decisions be made in the newsroom?

Journalist 7: I like to believe I am a fair person. I will always try to work it out and I will try to go to the editor and say okay, this is what it is, what's your view on it?

Interviewer: As a community journalist, do you think you consider more what the impact of your stories will have on the community members?

Journalist 7: Ultimately it is technically the same thing because if it is a national paper, it is still a national community. The difference comes where national, the views are very split, whereas with the community, there are similar views because they all live with in the area, so you sort of know their views.

Interviewer: Do you weigh up the impact? Do you worry about how the community may receive a certain story? Such as the story on the road. Were you at all worried about how the community would receive the story?

Journalist 7: I was a bit worried because the community's allegations were about a development and you don't want to make the developer angry.

Interviewer: Were you more worried about the big corporate or the community's views?

Journalist 7: I was worried a bit about the corporate people because an organisation was complaining about them so I felt that it was important for us to speak to them because it wouldn't be fair, because they are apparently funding

the road. Government is always very quiet, they won't say anything before it becomes big, so I don't worry about them. But other community members haven't said much since recently, so I assumed everyone was with them.

Interviewer: With stories like that, are you more worried by what the allegations are or that because it's a big corporate they could take the newspaper on legally, or to the press council?

Journalist 7: As long as I have spoken to them, I can't be sued for being fair. It does come to mind because you think, okay, if I get sued by developers, I can't fight them, but at the same time it wasn't something big but [because] it is something that the community is saying, you can't really ignore it.

Interviewer: How does your view of how a journalist should report influence the way in which you report in the community?

Journalist 7: My view as a journalist I think I am sometime and being too fair. I feel like I need to expose people more. But as a community journalist I feel that I am not only reporting for myself, I am also reporting for the community, so that also plays a part.

Interviewer: Are you at all worried about backlash from the community members because they know where the *Fourways Review* is and do they easily pick up the phone and blast you if you have reported on something that has made them angry.

Journalist 7: I have been playing it very safe. It's not my opinion, it's what they community wants. I do it because it is what they want. If there was two opposing views, I would report on both views, even if I might disagree, I will report on it because I am a reporter, and it's what the community is talking about.

JOURNALIST 8

Interviewer: How long have you worked on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 8: Almost six months. I started in May.

Interviewer: Have you held any other positions on the newspaper and if so, what were they?

Journalist 8: No.

Interviewer: What experience do you have in newspapers or in other media?

Journalist 8: The media is basically an exciting industry, whose primary goal is to inform, entertain and to educate, and in the process you get to be exposed to exciting scenarios and personalities. Ya, I've worked for almost all the other newspapers around South Africa. I've worked for *Sowetan* where I cut my teeth, I've worked for *Daily Sun* – I was part of the inaugural team that started *Daily Sun* and I've also written for *Sunday Times* on a freelance basis for some times and I have also subbed for *The Star* and the *New Age*. And, recently I have just walked out of a job where I was the news editor of a new KZN TV.

Interviewer: Where do you live, and how long have you lived in that area?

Journalist 8: I've lived in Kelvin for almost a year now.

Interviewer: To what extent do you feel not living within the newspaper's distribution area hinders you when reporting for or editing *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 8: No it doesn't hinder at all. As a journalist, you should be able to get an exclusive story, even from an area you have never been to before. I remember a story on a judge when it broke out in India when he was accused of rape, we actually had exclusive stories while we were seated at News24. But, I would understand Caxton. Caxton is a community newspaper which primarily employs cadets or new entrants into the position, they would want to make it very easy for them to be close to where they can source that news, build relations and actually be seen by those that they interview, but from my experience, it doesn't matter.

Interviewer: To what extent do you participate in community events?

Journalist 8: I normally attend a lot of events, launches, CPF meetings, community upliftment projects, especially in Diepsloot, to make sure that we are actually very close to the community we are serving. As a community newspaper, the rational is to make sure that we mirror or reflect exactly what is happening in that community so that the community would be able to identify us with them, like the *Fourways Review* newspaper, people can go to any of these things and they can easily identify with the community newspaper. This explains why, when they've got a problem, their first point of call is *Fourways Review*.

Interviewer: How do you gather news for the newspaper?

Journalist 8: Working for these Caxton community newspapers, it's not very difficult for news to come by. I don't believe in looking for news whereby you're hunting and just expecting something to come up. I have established contacts to an extent that on a daily basis I receive leads that are very good and at times I might not catch up with the inflow of leads that I get from news sources and more often than not, I actually choose events which I would attend depending on their news value. At times the community would just invite me to events which in their view would actually be important for a journalist to attend but in most cases we encourage them to send press statements, take pictures and what-not and I would just put together a story. So, it's not actually very difficult to get news.

Interviewer: How often do you interact with community members?

Journalist 8: Almost on a daily basis I interact with the community members, and what normally happens is as soon as you get established, your byline appears in the paper and so-forth, the community would quickly identify with you as one of them and they would actually be contacting you in one way or another and before you know it, you would actually find yourself having a lot of powerful friends who have access to information and they would be more than willing to share with you that information so some would invite you to their

launches or just to socialise or just to meet in person or to give you a story, so I actually interact with the community members more often than not and most of the news makers in the catchment area, I know where to find them, we meet so often.

Interviewer: How do the majority of these conversations take place? On the phone, over email or in person?

Journalist 8: The majority of them are emails and phone calls but the more prominent ones are face-to-face because most news makers are prominent community members in their own right, it could be politics councillors, MPLs or it could be religious leaders or business people, or it could be street committee members, police and so forth.

Interviewer: What news values are the most important to you?

Journalist 8: The impact which the news story has to the community. Impact is not necessarily... is it something of interest, not something that is interesting. Something of interest is something that has got a bearing on the lives of the people you are writing about, or who are in that area, and if there is a danger, like more probably there is a clear disruption of the smooth flow of their lives, such as a story is carried out, so basically you would decide by the news impact which that story has on your intended target market, like now, these cellular phone tower stories is actually very important to me because they are actually health scares which has been sent left, right and centre, until we have come to a point whereby we have said no, let's not go with this thing, let's get scientific evidence, and then MTN actually released a report from a renowned researching company which have actually dispelled those rumours so people were actually living in fear for nothing.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe your news values are in line with the fellow staff members on *Fourways Review*?

Journalist 8: We do share the same news values on *Fourways Review*. It's quite clear that they are alert to the news values of stories by chasing stories that actually touch the raw nerve of the community that they are serving, and I even discovered during discussions that you can see that my colleagues are reading from the same hymn book as me.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider what you would like to read in the newspaper when deciding what to report on?

Journalist 8: Journalists, we don't write what we consider is interesting to us, what you have to do is you have to understand the demographics, physiographic of your readers and then it's actually very easy to pick what would excite an affluent readership of a suburb like Lonehill, Douglasdale. You would also know what would be of interest to people in Diepsloot, which is the area that we cover, so you look at what excites your readers and that's what you go from, not necessarily what you as journalist [think].

Interviewer: To what extent do your personal relationships with community members affect how you publish content and the decisions that you make regarding reporting on stories?

Journalist 8: The issue is that as a journalist, you are actually guided by the element of truth. Relations with community members are always kept at a professional level, at an arm's length and the same community members would actually respect you more if you stick to the truth, even if it's at the expense of their interest and agenda. Of course you would have sources that may be parading themselves as very close to you and may actually want you to do favours but in most cases, you would actually be digging yourself in a grave because if you can't actually stick to the truth, those same people who will want you to dance to their tune won't actually respect you, and the other guys who are watching you would actually be pick easily to see this is actually a biased reporter. But in most cases, community stories have got a PR element. They are not hard-hitting, they're not that controversial, so you don't easily sour relations with people because after all it is a community paper, which is

supposed to be community building and developing so there's not much to quarrel about, except for a few isolated cases where someone would actually think that you should have been more sweeter to them, they would have a few complaints here and there but it's not really a train-smash.

Interviewer: To what extent do you consider the readers' sensitivity when deciding whether to publish a photo or story?

Journalist 8: Ya, you have to be sensitive, there's no way that as a journalist you could be insensitive to some pertinent elements within a society. You can't just be rough and just expose information which might have the potential of inflicting harm or which might put people's lives at threat or which might make people feel disadvantaged, so, there are areas which you have to be sensitive about. You can't be seen to be celebrating a story of the bleeding victims at the expense of the impact it has to the families and one has to exercise some ethical consideration when handling sensitive information, like when you get information in confidence or when you get information involving children, and in most cases, some information which might actually involve victims, you don't have to maximise the impact of their sorry situation by actually coming up with graphic pictures and details, it's like if someone has been raped, you don't have to describe it, when you say rape, everyone will know what you are talking about, you don't have to say arm-twisted and all those details.

Interviewer: Can you remember an example of such a sensitive story?

Journalist 8: Nah, not really, except for one story that turned out to be a hoax. *Fourways Review*, the kind of stories that are being done here, they are not really earth-shattering, mostly they are just PR kind of stuff, there hasn't been any sensitive information.

Interviewer: Do the journalists, sub-editors and editors discuss difficulties in publishing certain editorial content due to sensitivity or advertising pressures? And if so, how are these discussions handled?

Journalist 8: A sensitive issue is based on the impact it has on the subject you are writing about and also to the relatives that you are writing about, the wife, the child, the siblings and in such a story, you have to discuss it with your immediate superior and such a story you might also have to indicate some red lights to a superior of what might be the danger areas and so forth and you would then proceed with the clear sensitivity in terms of how you ask questions, in terms of the choice of your words or vocabulary and in terms of the angle and also with a clear mind of what exactly you want to achieve by writing a story. But if the publication of a story would only serve to maximise the solo situation in which the person is in, there won't be any reason to publish it.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think of the advertisers before publishing editorial content?

Journalist 8: Ya, advertisers exert pressures in different ways. They won't be direct, they would be complex. It would be stupid for anyone to think that they are actually exonerated from advertising pressure because any media organisation actually survives through advertising, that's the blood line so advertisers would actually put pressure through the bosses. The pressure is exerted in a subtle manner, it doesn't come directly, you actually can't. If a guy was to put six months of advertising and then in three months, he was to phone the branch manager and says we've got this story and we're in trouble, please can you cover it in a proper manner, and then the branch manager sprints to the news editor's desk and says can you actually make sure that this story is covered positively, and then the news editor's instruction will be quite clear of the direction that she wants the story to be taken, and also, the amount of times when the story is sent back to you to make sure it conforms. So, pressure from the advertisers is actually very subtle but it's there in the newsroom. As a former news editor, I had that where I also used to receive those kind of, at one moment we were instructed to be very careful of the way in which we were portraying the premier of KZN simply because they've just struck a deal of actually repairing the KZN legislature at a cost of R40 million, so obviously the board of directors, the station manager, each time we would interview the

Premier, the MEC, the instruction was very clear, advertising pressure cannot be avoided.

Interviewer: Have you felt the pressure of advertisers on the stories which you have covered for the paper?

Journalist 8: As a community paper, it has got a small geographical area and at the end of the day, most of the business people can claim to be friends with the branch manager. The branch manager might not necessarily exert it on you but it becomes uncomfortable if someone says to you okay, I am dropping down the phone and I'm calling your boss, even though no action can be taken, that pressure is actually prevalent. Everyone knows the group editor, the news editor, everyone knows the branch manager. And so when one asks a question which the other thinks is actually in bad taste, it could easily be retaliated with the threat to call any of your bosses, and so the pressure is obviously there.

Interviewer: What role(s) do you think the newspaper plays in the community?

Journalist 8: It's actually a leader in informing the community. To the extent that the community actually feels that if it is not in *Fourways Review*, then it is not true. You would hear arguments like, "But I saw it in your paper" and "I'm going to tell the *Fourways Review*" and for some people *Fourways Review* is actually the first point of call like, "Have you heard about a mosque being built, is it true that this has happened?" So, I think *Fourways Review* has managed to create for itself an information leader and also, the paper has actually presented itself as a forum to give community members a place to air their views through their interactive online publication. Each time there's a story which touches the raw nerve of their livelihood, you would have a lot of responses from them, so, it's not actually easy to build such a credibility, it takes time for the community members to realise that their voices can be heard through this.

Interviewer: How would you define your role in the Fourways community?

Journalist 8: My role is to simply inform, educate and entertain as a mirror by actually making sure that stories that are supposed to be shared with the readers, are correctly represented in the paper.

Interviewer: What relation do you see between yourself and the community?

Journalist 8: The relationship with the media and the community members is actually controversial in the sense that journalists, they try to present themselves as spectators in a community which they are part of, so in the process, there's always conflicts whereby the community members would actually be accusing the journalists of taking sides, but, what I have realised is that it is always safe for one to maintain a professional distance from the community which you are serving, but, I would be lying if I didn't say that as a journalist you don't have your own preferences and feelings because, the fact that you are actually a person to begin with, that means you actually have your own biases. You belong to a particular tribe, you belong to a particular race, and all that actually comes with a natural bias, based on your upbringing, your understanding and also your exposure to the world. But, once writing, you should actually clearly be exonerating yourself. Such accusations will always come by, "Ah, you're always want to write about DA too much, as ANC, you don't want to write about us." Such accusations will always come by.

Interviewer: Who are the most influential voices in the community?

Journalist 8: There's nothing like a community without people who are more equal than others. Ya, there are influential people, there are influential organisations, there are stakeholders in the community whose power varies, in the community that I cover, it is predominantly, the majority of which are largely whites and most of them they are a little bit more enlightened in terms of their education and understanding what is happening and, if you are to go by their voting patterns, it would be safe to conclude that they are mostly DA, so DA has got a lot of influence on *Fourways Review* and the DA is the first one to raise issues around the community, parading or presenting itself as the voice of the community.

Interviewer: Are there any community members who are quoted more often than others and who have a dominant “voice” in the newspaper?

Journalist 8: Ya, they do. The DA has got more voice and the business community has more voice and the residents association are organised and they are more powerful, they encompass property owners and so forth.

Interviewer: To what extent do you aim to give these marginalised community members a voice in the newspaper?

Journalist 8: You see, the issue of media exposure, the issue of freedom of expression, it may be available but people may not have the capacity and the resources to access it, and that does not necessarily mean that the newspaper is not doing its best to include everyone, because someone might not afford an internet connection or might not afford to call or might not have the capacity to write, so that kind of exclusion exists based on capacity and availability of resources and that does not necessarily mean that the paper is not doing enough to cover everybody. But, the woman in a maid garment who washes dishes and washes the house and so forth, obviously their voices are relatively dormant. They would only get a voice if something extraordinary happens to them. That’s when they would actually get prominence. When someone is gruesomely murdered or gang raped or something terrible has been inflicted on them. Meanwhile, this powerful group, whenever they are expressing an opinion, despite how stupid it could be, it will be quickly carried, simply because of their prominence.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe you know what the community wants to read in the community newspaper?

Journalist 8: Journalism is one profession where more experience you have you become good, like wine, if you have been in this business for more than five years, you just need to read the paper to find out if it is shooting the right target and also, you just have to look at the demographics of the community which you are targeting and then you would be able to see if the two are actually in

synergy. I think the *Fourways Review* are actually catering very well for their readership and they don't seem to be apologetic about it and they are going all full steam, because in *Fourways Review*, they are most worried about, in most cases, the price of their property. If anything is done or anything happens around their property, you would hear them making serious noise and they are also so particular about service delivery, not the service delivery from Soweto and Diepsloot which we hear about simple things like water and so forth, they really like quality, so, if quality is compromised, you really would hear about it. So, as *Fourways Review*, we seem to be going full steam with those issues, which makes use seem to be hitting the nail on the head. It was going to be very easy if the paper was going to be sold.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe *Fourways Review* is meeting the community's expectations of what they would want to read in the paper?

Journalist 8: I sincerely believe, because all you have to ask is what do you think is the expectation of the community. You don't have to ask them. You look at the LSM, Living Standards of Measurement, someone who's liveable standards of measurement are say, category nine, it's a business guy, man whose children go to private schools, he's a modern thinker, this guy, what would he want to read about a community paper, of course, if he wants serious politics and what's happening in Parliament and so forth, he will go and buy The Star. What do we give him? And then if you start giving issues in areas surrounding him, where he's got business and property, where his children are going to school, where he buys bread and so forth, then that's what he wants to hear and then he will want to buy the paper.

Interviewer: To what extent do you believe that as a community journalist you need to be more conscious of the impact stories could have on the community than the provincial or national publications?

Journalist 8: As a community newspaper, you don't do in-your-face kind of journalism that you do in the national paper. Whereby in the national paper you care less about building, you are more interested about exposing. In a national

paper you would actually be interested in actually coming up with a scoop, as long as it is supported by facts, you don't care about the feeling of the organisation or individual you are writing about. But, in a community paper you go soft on stories in an effort not to rubbish the same community you are trying to build. When I was writing for *Sunday Times* metro section, I remember a certain story which I did for Ekurhuleni. If I was writing for a community paper I wouldn't have said that. Apparently Nelson Mandela was offered Freedom of the City by the mayor and he declined it. He said, ah you guys are always falling over me trying to give it to me, why don't you give it to other guys who have also contributed to the liberation of the struggle? In the *Sunday Times* we actually said Nelson Mandela "snubbed" the mayor, but if it was a community paper, we could have said, "Mandela advised his colleagues to honour his colleagues in the struggle". You know what I mean? So, community reporting has got a certain way of reporting but in a manner which doesn't leave a sour taste in the mouth of the community.

Interviewer: Do you think that is how *Fourways Review* is reporting in the community?

Journalist 8: I think journalism is contextual, of course journalism is contextual. As journalists we talk about, we tell it how it is without fear or favour but that type of an attitude only exists in text books. In the real world you really have to look at everything in a context. *Fourways Review* is actually doing that, that is actually where their strength is.

Interviewer: Where do you think the newspaper's weakness is?

Journalist 8: The turnaround period, which is nothing to do with the editorial management, because, deadlines are actually guided by resources but a very good story may only see the paper after 10 days. And, another weakness is on the sub-editing. You see, in all the other newspapers that I have worked for, a sub-editor should be a refined journalist who's experienced and who has excelled in that area. A sub-editor is the goal-keeper, he is the final guy whose responsibility is letting in the paper and to say to the paper, this is who we are to

the world. I have spoken this before to the group editor: the quality of the sub-editing is poor. I think, what they could have done is that they could have dismantled the news team here and actually appointed one of them, I think one of the news editors, and actually lead the sub-editing desk, they are very good at sending back stories, even for trivial issues, and at the end they are denying the paper a fresh story which the reporter spent time on, on issues that could have been fixed. So, the quality of the sub-editing really needs to be improved. You need a raw quality journalist there, and the majority should actually be proof-readers. Proof-readers doing adjectives here, omissions, not to make judgements on the composition of stories, whether they are complete. Stories are being withheld for trivial reasons, or at times, questions which are raised or queries which are raised only serve to confirm that there is actually a lack of capacity. Most reporters are actually demoralised with the quality of the queries which are being raised to an extent that some might actually end up saying that if they send this story back and they ask me for information which doesn't make sense, I can just get rid of the story by saying that I can't get more information, but I am still trying, which I think is actually not fair to the guys who have put in the effort. The reporters are becoming complacent, they have no faith in the sub-editing, but in most cases, when people are frustrated by something, people just tend to keep quiet, they say, ah I might come out as being antagonistic, let me actually just keep quiet. If there are any queries, I will try to find a way of not attending to the queries because these queries are actually non-existent.

Interviewer: How do you see your role at *Fourways Review* in the long-term?

Journalist 8: *Fourways Review* is actually in my view one of the best community newspapers in South Africa and it gives you exposure to really raw community journalism and it gives you the latitude to explore extensively exciting issues in community journalism. Community journalism, you are not flying out there divorced from everyone but writing stories from a tangent; you are brought down there in the bottom-end of it. It's actually a learning curve. I've always, I've always been very passionate about community journalism. I am

actually a social butterfly, ya, I like socialising, I like meeting people, I like engaging in discussions and debates, I like throwing questions at people and I've managed to do that at *Fourways Review*. If I had my way, I have been there in the national papers, I have been there in those big papers and so-forth. The only difference is that you would actually be chasing stories at a national level, that's the only difference at a readership level. But I would actually be comfortable in actually growing in a community newspaper. Even the community radio station that I was working for, it was a community television station. When we started it, it was nothing, but, by the time I left we had managed to qualify for DSTV. The news department, I built it from scratch. I got people trained in the news elements and so forth, and now, they've got a fully-fledged television station, community television station. Community media, I actually like it.

Interviewer: Have you ever not published a story because you thought it would upset the community?

Journalist 8: *Fourways Review* to be quite frank, you would never find it conducting itself in a manner which is not consistent. There seems to be a consistent way of handling situations, but I am not saying the editors are so, that there's serious censorship, no, I don't think so, but I think journalists who are employed here, after going through *Fourways Review*, you would be able to see which direction you should go in depending on the publication. At the same time, if there's a story which has to go out, then it will, it's not like, "No, these people will be very angry." No. There's always an emphasis on, are the facts in order, is this the correct situation, do they strike the right balance, stuff like that.

APPENDIX H: FIELD OBSERVATION WEEK 7 to 11 SEPTEMBER 2015

7 September 2015

Observations	Personal impressions
On Mondays the newspaper is designed and proof-read before being sent to print. One journalist from the team helps to do the corrections on the pages before the pages are given to the news editor and then the group editor to sign off. On 7 September, Journalist 6 helped with production.	Journalist 6 is a relatively new journalist in the newsroom with no previous work experience. She is still learning how to do corrections and is also quite slow at the corrections, however, she is willing to try to get it right. The team is also coaching her on how to spot errors too and how to fix them.
There are usually four designers who lend efforts to designing the newspaper but one of the designers was on leave this week.	This put some strain on the designers to ensure the newspaper was designed timeously.
<i>Fourways Review</i> shares a production day with two other community newspapers. Another newspaper in the over-28 page category, <i>Sandton Chronicle</i> and an eight-page newspaper <i>Alex News</i> . This week both <i>Fourways Review</i> and <i>Sandton Chronicle</i> were 28 pages. This is relatively small for these newspapers as they can go up to around 68 pages during peak advertising times. This is usually for the last edition of the month and around holidays such as Easter and Christmas.	With three journalists on <i>Fourways Review</i> , a 28-page newspaper was relatively easy to fill.

<p>The pages are split up among the designers and one designer is a champion for one (or more) newspapers. There is one champion of <i>Fourways Review</i>. After each designer completes their designed page, they print it and hand it to the champion who checks the layout. From there, the chief sub-editor re-reads the stories on the pages. They are then handed to Journalist 6 to do corrections, and then they are handed back to the second proof-reader. The pages are then given to the news editor who makes notes, passes it to the group editor who has the final sign-off on the pages before they are then handed to the champion of the newspaper to do final corrections and send the page to press.</p>	<p>The system in place for production seems tedious and takes most of the day to do. The stories seem to be read over too many times by the sub-editors and this is leaving a margin for error on other parts of the pages such as mistakes in by-lines, headlines which could be written better or need to be re-thought and other small details on the pages, such as at the top of the pages where the page category (news, metro news, opinion, etc) is sometimes labelled incorrectly, such as it says news on the top of a schools page. The process also does not allow for the news editor to spend time guiding other journalists and keeping up with the news.</p>
<p>The space on the pages that are allocated for the stories produced by the newsroom, referred to as “editorial content” are determined by the advertisements. The branch in which <i>Fourways Review</i> is produced is mainly a sales-driven branch, whereby advertisements take preference over the stories written by the journalists. If an advertisement is produced after deadline, it is often still</p>	<p>The branch is inclined to allow late advertisements into the newspaper, even if the editorial content is designed and ready for print.</p>

<p>included in the newspaper, even if it means that the layout of the editorial has to change.</p>	
<p>During production, the digital editor ensures that the website is running. The news editor also manages new content coming in for the newspaper and website as well as for the other two newspapers and websites she produces.</p>	<p>The stories are read three times before being uploaded onto the website (first by the news editor, then by a sub-editor, then by the chief sub-editor acting as a proof reader), as opposed to the five times they are read before being sent to press (with the same process followed as well as read twice on the pages by the chief sub-editor and a sub-editor). The news editor and group editor then also look at the pages, but not necessarily every story on the pages.</p>
<p>The chief sub-editor, who is required to proof-read the stories on the pages, also proof reads the stories before they are uploaded to the websites or allocated to the pages of the newspaper. During the time spent proof-reading the stories on the pages, the list of stories that need to be proof-read on the screen grows in size. This poses a problem when there is a breaking news story that needs to be published online.</p>	<p>It seems that the system in place allows for a lot of checking on the pages which slows the digital team. The sub-editors are also checking the stories many times over but mistakes in the headlines, the style of the newspaper (such as fonts for by-lines and kickers for photos) are being missed.</p> <p>The journalist was also not picking these up. It seems there are too many checks in place that there is less accountability as each person on the chain knows that the next person will be checking the pages too.</p>

<p>The production day started at about 7am and only ends at about 5pm. This puts pressure on the whole team as the news editor is pre-occupied with the production of the newspaper and not on the stories that are being produced that day or the emails and phone calls from the community which need to be responded to. This also creates pressure at the printers as the newspapers are being sent to print at the same time that the daily newspapers are arriving at the printers.</p>	<p>This seems like a long day, where tensions are running high. It seems there must be a more efficient process so that the news editor and sub-editors could edit more new content during the day instead of the same copy that is collected over the time period of one week. It would also give the journalist who is working on the corrections desk a chance to write new stories instead of only correcting all of the previous week's stories.</p>
<p>The website is uploaded every hour and on Mondays, it seems to tick over with old news content.</p>	<p>It would be more productive if the news editor and sub-editors were not tied up with re-reading the stories for the newspaper in order to sub-edit the new stories.</p>
<p>The two journalists on the team who are not involved in the production process were busy writing stories. The journalists are required to write three original stories a day and process press releases that are sent in to the newspaper, such as school news and press releases that are relevant to the community.</p>	<p>The journalists however could not get the full attention of the news editor who was busy on production. The news editor is also less aware of the stories being produced on a Monday than on other days of the week.</p>
<p>The two journalists stayed in the office writing up stories. As the production process could take a while, Journalist 6 processed two</p>	

press releases in-between doing the corrections.	
Journalist 7 had been to weekend events and was writing up the stories. The journalists are required to work during evenings and on weekends. For this, a duty roster is drawn up so that the journalists work on alternating weekends. The journalists can then also take time off work for the time that they work. Each weekend, a news or digital editor is on duty with the journalists to help with breaking news or anything they need.	The journalists are required to work long hours but their overtime is worked out fairly. The news and digital editors seem to say they work hard as they are on a chat group where Caxton's central digital team assist them to keep up to date with all news and are called at all times, even when some of them are not on duty.
The news editor also finds stories to send to the journalists to look into or to process.	The journalists often rely on the news editor or digital editor to find them stories to process. These are either found by the editors while they are in the area or looking on social media. The community also emails them and those stories are passed on too.
During the production of the newspaper, the news editor does not have much time to spare looking to keep up with the news. Any breaking news falls onto the digital editor and the journalists who are not doing corrections on the newspaper. There was no breaking news on this day.	
Journalist 8 was tackling a story of a parent who was upset that her child	Journalist 8 enjoys writing controversial stories.

<p>was threatened to be “smacked” by a teacher and was not given pudding after he was “naughty”. A few issues were raised here.</p> <p>First, Journalist 8 phoned the school for comment, and they commented over the phone but then issued a statement. Because they had already issued comment telephonically, Journalist 8 did not want to use their comments in the statement. This frustrated the school who then phoned the news editor to complain. Journalist 8’s reasoning was that he did not want them to “spin-doctor” their responses to the allegations. He said he also had proof of how they handled the situation via email correspondence between the school and the bereaved parent.</p> <p>Second, the story was based on one child’s experiences only and had happened months before the mother contacted <i>Fourways Review</i>.</p> <p>The group editor explained that the story was more of a he-said-she-said story and that rather it should be written in such a way that it educates parents on what to do in such circumstances and not just to run to the newspaper. It was also explained to Journalist 8 that the community</p>	<p>He does not mind annoying the community or telling them the way he feels about stories.</p> <p>The news and group editors wants to maintain relations with the community and wants to use a balanced approach where stories are there to uplift the community and not merely to be sensationalised. It seems that for the editors, the community is the most important asset to the newspaper and the stories are written in order to enhance the community.</p>
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<p>newspaper needs to listen to all sectors of the community and seeing that the school had taken the time to write out the formal statement, he should use it. Journalist 8 was also told that the newsroom does not want any of its community newspapers to be used in the community members' own personal wars in the community and therefore sensational stories should be treated with care. That is not to say that they must not be done but that they should be done if they are going to help or advise the community, not for the community to use the newspaper to settle their personal vendettas.</p>	
<p>The sub-editors queried a section of Journalist 8's story of traffic lights that were removed at an intersection in order for the road to be widened which was causing traffic jams and frustrations among motorists. The sub-editors were questioning a term used by the roads agency that a "stop-and-go" traffic signal was implemented. Journalist 8 disagreed with the sub-editor's wish to explain this. He therefore spoke to the sub-editors about it and in the end it was decided to add in an explanation for the readers.</p>	<p>The sub-editors position on the hierarchy shows that the journalists need to listen to them. The newsroom is also used as a teaching newsroom and so the sub-editors often do school the journalists on how to perfect their writing, instead of just changing it for them.</p>

<p>A community member who is a Mrs Commonwealth SA finalist contacted the news editor and Journalist 6 to say that a story about an event that she was hosting “needed” to go into this week’s newspaper. She had previously tried to hold the event before but had submitted the content too late to be included in the newspaper so the story was uploaded to the <i>Fourways Review</i> website, however, going up just a day or so in advance did not help to advertise the event as much as she would have liked, and not many people turned up. The woman was demanding that the story should be included in the newspaper this week. The news editor explained to her that she had missed the deadline but that if it was possible to include the story, it would be. The community member continued to demand that the story should be included in the newspaper. The news editor did make a plan to include the story.</p>	<p>The community member’s insistence that the story should be included could show that the community see the newspaper as “theirs” and that they have rights to decide when their stories are included and when not. It also shows that the newspaper is not considered by the community member as “free press” but that they have a right to “bully” the journalists and editors into helping them to publicise the event.</p> <p>The community member also did not use any other means to try to advertise her event, except through depending on <i>Fourways Review</i>, which may show that she regards the newspaper as something that most community members read and respond to.</p>
<p>The journalists are still quite unfamiliar to the area and are still trying to develop contacts. They rely heavily on the news editor to provide stories and contacts for their stories. The news editor sent them a number</p>	<p>The news editor is hands-on and travels the area to find stories in order to nurture the journalists’ abilities to find stories in this way and to meet new people. This could also make the newspaper a product of the news</p>

<p>of stories she had found in the area over the weekend and asked the journalists to pursue the stories over the next few days, along with contact details. The emails with press releases were also forwarded to the journalists.</p>	<p>editor's conceptions and may limit the ability of the journalists to shape the newspaper in their own ways. It is therefore necessary for the journalists to try to find their own stories and try to let their "voice" and stories which they think are relevant for the community to come through in the newspaper.</p>
<p>The newspaper was sent to press at about 5pm. The sub-editors left shortly after that.</p>	
<p>When journalists start in the newsroom, they begin with a three-month probation period. Journalist 6's probation period is coming to an end. The news editor was called by the group editor to share thoughts on Journalist 6's progress. The issues raised were that Journalist 6 could not develop angles to stories, find her own stories, was very dependent on the news editor and had not followed up on many of the stories given to her. She had not introduced herself to many key community members and often relied on excuses such as that people were unavailable, did not respond to her emails or answer her phone calls. This was seen as frustrating to the news editor. The group editor therefore decided to</p>	<p>Establishing community contact and being able to find stories in the community are key to the newspaper and by raising such points, the news editor is showing that that independence is needed by the journalists in order to succeed in the newsroom.</p>

extend Journalist 6's probation for another two months.	
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8 September 2015

Observations	Personal impressions
At around 6.30am there were two news stories. In the newsroom in which <i>Fourways Review</i> is produced, there are seven newspapers, edited by two news editors and two digital editors. One news editor and one digital editor come into the office in order to catch the breaking news at 7am and work until about 3pm to 4pm, but usually they stay later, and the other news editor and digital editor arrive at the office at 9am and stay until 5pm. One of the digital editors therefore reported on the two breaking news incidents. The one incident was a story of a car which crashed into a tree in the Fourways area, while the other was that the Gautrain stopped in its tracks. The stories were uploaded within 30 minutes of the digital editor finding out about the story.	The duty roster system which ensures there are editors on standby throughout the working days and nights, as well as during weekends, shows that the newsroom is focused on breaking news and updating their communities first. Often the initial stories uploaded are small with comment that is made on social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook or from an initial police report or community informer. Thereafter the journalists are contacted to pursue the story further for comment. In the case of these two stories, the initial stories captured the whole story and there was no reason to pursue it.
The digital editor who uploaded the story did not read through the story before publishing it online. The first line read that a tree crashed into a	The community is not afraid to call <i>Fourways Review</i> out on its flaws and wants the newspaper/website to serve their best interests. In this

<p>tree, rather than a car crashed into the tree. The community, however, did read carefully and left many comments in the comments section of the online version of the story and on the <i>Fourways Review</i> Facebook page. Some of those comments can be seen here:</p> <p>Nick Ocker: Had it been raining? Because that means [stet] the tree had been drinking and that could be serious!!!!!!</p> <p>Rayor Thuso: I suspect drink and driving on this scenario.</p> <p>Heinrich Lotz: Hope the two trees are ok.</p>	<p>instance, some of the community members were able to laugh at the mistake, which shows that the community does view the publication as a credible news source and that such mistakes are not common. However, the publication cannot afford to make these mistakes regularly.</p>
<p>Journalist 8 was covering stories in the field and therefore submitted stories from outside the office.</p>	<p>This allows the journalists to familiarise themselves with the area and community members.</p>
<p>Journalist 7 started her day from outside the office as she was on stories but then came to the office. Journalist 6 processed press releases from the office.</p>	<p>This is productive in stories being written, the journalists are able to use the telephones without wasting airtime on their cell phones and they are able to talk to the news editor or sub-editor about challenges that they may face when compiling their stories.</p>
<p>The journalists let the news editor know where they are via email or phone messages. The journalists also let the news editor know what</p>	<p>This system allows the news editor to know what content is being produced and where the journalists are so that if news breaks, then a journalist closest</p>

<p>stories they are working on during the day. This allows the news editor to inform the digital editor of what stories will be coming in during the day or for the next day's online content. It also helps the news editor to plan the newspaper.</p>	<p>to the area or with the least number of stories will be able to go to the scene and take on the story.</p>
<p>At 12pm on Tuesdays, the news editor meets with the team to share important notices, tips and to offer assistance with difficult stories. It also gives the team a chance to raise issues as a team or individually. The chief sub-editor can join these meetings too in order to share tips or to get feedback from the journalists.</p>	<p>These meetings are productive in allowing the news editor to explain some issues, hear the journalists in person and help on a one-on-one basis. It also allows for the whole team to hear one another's struggles in the community and to share advice or to learn.</p>
<p>During the meeting, Journalist 7 raised issues that she was unsure which stories needed to be prioritised and so the news editor went through her stories to explain which needed to be done urgently and which stories could be put on hold until she has more time. Journalist 7 was also unsure of how to angle a story on cases of reckless driving on the roads which the news editor had given to her so that story was explained and contacts for the story were provided. Journalist 7 also came up with her own ideas for the story which were commended.</p>	<p>The newsroom is a learning newsroom, where many of the journalists do not have a lot of experience before starting the job. The news editor is also a first-time editor and is doing on-the-job training. There is a culture of allowing journalists to ask lots of questions and to be trained in their fields. The newsroom does however require the journalists to be willing to learn and to try, as Journalist 7 exhibits by asking but also proposing her own angle to this story.</p>

Journalist 7 asked whether there had been any complaints regarding her stories.	This shows the willingness of the journalist to succeed in her work and also the journalist's familiarity that community members regularly approach the community newspaper to voice their concerns or complaints. The journalists want to report so that they maintain good relations between themselves, the newspaper and the community.
Journalist 6 complained that she did not have enough "hard news" stories. The news editor provided her with some but encouraged her to interact with the community, by meeting key community members and she was encouraged to find her own "hard news" stories, such as to look for illegal dumping on the sides of roads or to ask a ward councillor about the key problems in their wards.	Journalist 6 is still in a learning phase and has not yet been able to gain independence to find her own stories. The news editor is working closely with her in order to guide her but also needs her to take the incentive to find her own original stories.
The news day was quiet, with the journalists submitting sport and entertainment pieces while they worked on getting comment for their news stories.	
A community member called the news editor to say that no one had returned his call and he had a story on disabled parking for the team. The story was then passed onto Journalist 6.	The community is not afraid to tell the community newspaper that their interests are not being served.

<p>Every month, the branch manager sets new targets for the websites to meet. <i>Fourways Review's</i> website usually performs the best in the branch with the most number of unique visitors to the site and most number of pages viewed. The targets were given on 8 September and <i>Fourways Review's</i> page view target was set at 130 000. Last month, <i>Fourways Review's</i> website reached nearly 250 000 page views. The editors say these targets are usually reached when there is breaking news stories which spike readers' interests.</p>	
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9 September 2015

Observations	Personal impressions
<p>Journalist 8 was out in the field collecting news stories again today. Journalist 7 and Journalist 6 started their days in the Fourways area too before coming into the office.</p>	<p>The office is a 20-minute drive from Fourways so the journalists try to do a chunk of interviews together and come to the office to type them up and touch base with the news editor. The journalists will often work in a coffee shop or library in the Fourways area so they will be close to the scene.</p>
<p>The news editor sends another community newspaper, <i>Midrand Reporter</i> to press during the course of the morning which keeps her pre-</p>	<p>The production process of sending newspapers to print does take a lot out of the news editors' days. It seems that a new system for sending</p>

occupied, however, the journalists still let her know where they were and which stories they are working on.	the newspapers to press should be devised.
At around 8.30am the news editor was sent a notification, via a community chat group, that there had been a robbery outside a shop in Fourways. She contacted Journalist 7 who called the police to confirm the information. The same community member who had sent the message also tweeted the information. The digital editor then re-tweeted the message, but the team waited until police confirmed the incident before they published the story online. About an hour later police confirmed the incident so Journalist 7 informed the news editor of the new information which was then passed onto the digital editor to upload onto the website.	The team is keen to break news first and to keep the community updated. The team uses social media platforms to tell the community the news and to also gather news. Journalist 7's quick reaction to call the police and to update with new information later in the day shows that not only the news and digital editors place emphasis on breaking the news, but the journalists know to follow the news too.
As the afternoon was quiet, with no scheduled appointments for Journalist 7, she was able to write up a number of stories that she had attended at the weekend. These were social events which did not need to be written up urgently over the weekend and were not essential to be used in the newspaper which was put to press on 7 September. The	Journalist 7 likes the news editor to structure her stories in an order of importance, however, when it comes to breaking news, Journalist 7 understands the importance of breaking news quickly. While she has been in the newsroom for some time, she is new to the Fourways area and looks to the news editor for guidance when prioritising and finding stories

<p>stories she worked on was the relocation of a special needs school to a new campus and the unveiling event. She also worked on a story on a new equestrian centre that had opened.</p>	<p>and people to quote. However, once she has a little guidance, she is able to angle and write the stories well and timeously.</p>
<p>Journalist 6 is still struggling to produce her own original stories. She processed press releases.</p>	<p>Despite having the guidance from both the news and digital editors, and following the discussion with the group editor on 7 September, it seems that she is unable to gain independence to know what angles to take on stories and how to tackle stories.</p>
<p>Journalist 8 submitted stories from the field. These were the updated story on the parent's outrage at a school teacher for threatening to "smack" her son; unplanned electricity outages in one of the suburbs and a short-changing green light on a traffic light at a certain intersection.</p>	<p>Journalist 8 is an experienced journalist who is not afraid to name and shame community members. He also takes for granted that if people contact the newspaper, they do not mind being quoted. The newsroom's stance is that because we are dealing with residents who often don't realise that when they speak to journalists they could be quoted, it is courteous for the journalists to confirm whether the community members mind their names being used. Journalist 8 is also unashamed to call municipalities or entities out for not providing services, even without waiting for their response. This was the case on both the unplanned outages and fast-</p>

	changing traffic light stories. The news editor often has to check whether a fair response time has been given before going ahead with Journalist 8's stories.
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10 September 2015

Observations	Personal impressions
All three journalists spent the day outside the office working on stories. They informed the news editor of their appointments and which stories they planned to submit.	
At around 10am, Journalist 8 visited the office to explain that he needed to take leave for the next week from 11 September but would continue to submit his stories for the day from in the field.	
Much of the news media across the province was focused on an announcement, which was due to take place between 10am and 11am regarding a historic finding in Maropeng in the Cradle of Humankind. This area is not within the distribution area of any of the publications that are published in the same newsroom as <i>Fourways Review</i> . Therefore, no journalist from the newsroom was sent to the	The news and digital editors worked together to manage the content to ensure all newsworthy stories are covered timeously. The team listens to the inputs and help from the central digital team and are guided by them when it comes to content for their websites and social media pages.

<p>unveiling, however, there is a central digital team which usually guides the digital and news editors on uploading breaking news and helps them to navigate online media which is relatively new to Caxton. The central digital team said it would upload a story as well as a video at 11am. The two news and two digital editors planned on using this content and publishing it for their readers.</p>	
<p>Just after 10am, most of the other media were already running with the story about what was being unveiled, and yet, the central team still were waiting for the 11am embargo time. This was because the team said it had an agreement with an online television channel to publish the story and the channel's video together at 11am.</p>	<p>The central digital team are looking at ways to expand the readership on the company's community websites, such as trying videos, not just written content. However, in this instance, they focused on telling a full story, rather than breaking the news, and therefore the websites were scooped by other media houses.</p>
<p>Tensions ran high as the news and digital editors wanted to join other media houses in breaking the news but were caught in a dilemma between publishing their own story and waiting for the central team's story.</p>	<p>The news and digital editors were frustrated as the central digital team is supposed them to get the news to their communities first, and now they were delaying them.</p>
<p>By 11.05am, the central team's story was still not uploaded and therefore the news and digital editors decided to publish their own story from a</p>	<p>While the team is obliged to listen to the inputs of the digital team, they also put serving their community first and decided to go against the digital</p>

press release sent to them and embedded social media links.	team and publish their own story on the new discovery.
By 11.30am, the central team's story was also uploaded, however, the news and digital editors felt let down by the team that is supposed to guide them on how to break news stories.	The scenario created tension between the team and the central digital team as the news and digital editors felt let down by their team and felt that they were not able to serve their community well.
The central team informed the news and digital editors that there was an alleged shooting the Fourways area.	This shows how the central and news teams work together.
The news and digital editor knew they had to act quickly in order to break the news first.	The team wants to try to scoop the other media houses. As the team is very familiar with the area, it is argued by the team, and the central digital team, that they should break the news first that that the bigger media houses should be looking to the community newspapers for the facts and on the ground footage.
The digital editor quickly looked online to see whether the reports could be confirmed while the news editor contacted Journalist 7 to ask her to confirm with police and thereafter try to get to the scene.	Confirming reports is key for the team to ensure that it is worthwhile attending the scene and also to get accurate information online as soon as possible. It is also useful for the journalists to be at the scene as soon as possible so they can give eyewitness accounts and speak to people at the scene.
At that time, the chairperson of the area's community policing forum called the news editor to give the	The news editor has well-established relationships with many community members who send news as it

initial details of what had happened. He alleged that the incident took place at a fast food restaurant.	happens. The chair of the policing forum is one of these community members who understands that the <i>Fourways Review</i> team wants to break news first and is happy to give preliminary details and to update at a later time.
The news editor handed the notes she took from the community policing forum chairperson to the digital editor, who started to type the story.	The news and digital editor have a good working relationship and understand what is required in order to put together a breaking news story quickly and efficiently.
The news editor called the fast food franchise in order to confirm the incident and to get right of reply before naming them. The news editor was however told that the fast food franchise's public relations officer would get back to her.	A challenge the team confronts on stories is that they need to ensure that advertisers are kept happy and have a right of reply as soon as the stories break. The fast food franchise is an advertiser and therefore, the news editor knew that she needed to contact them quickly to get them to comment. When they could not give a response straight away, the news editor knew that they may have exclusive information and she needed to break the story in order to inform the community member about what had happened and warn them of potential threats.
The news editor then sat next to the digital editor to help her to type up the initial story.	The two editors work effectively together

<p>The first story on the incident was uploaded onto the website, with the link broadcasted on the <i>Fourways Review</i> social media platforms within about 15 minutes of the team finding out about the incident. The central team requests that the team gets the initial story up within 30 minutes, so the team acted quickly.</p>	<p>The swiftness of getting the story with adequate information online shows the team's dedication and experiences in breaking stories and informing the community quickly.</p>
<p>Journalist 7 could not get hold of the police spokesperson and therefore drove to the scene.</p>	<p>Journalist 7 knows what is expected of her in breaking news circumstances.</p>
<p>The news editor is a member of a mobile chat group in the Fourways community and she received a message that police had launched an operation in the area to find the suspects who had run away from police.</p>	
<p>The news and digital editor updated the story again. The news editor then sent a message to the team of <i>Fourways Review</i> journalists to warn them to be careful in the area as a manhunt as on for the suspects.</p>	<p>A concern for the team's safety was also demonstrated.</p>
<p>Journalist 7 was at the scene by this time and she took a video and sent through photos to the news editor, via her cell phone.</p>	
<p>Journalist 6 then let the news editor know that a paramedic on the scene had called her to give her more</p>	<p>This showed willingness and progress from Journalist 6 and shows that a commitment to breaking news</p>

details. She wrote the story and sent it to the news editor.	is instilled in even the young members of the team, however again the story lacked an angle and was poorly written, but at least the information was there.
The news editor was sceptical of the new information because the original information from the forum chair was that there was a robbery at a fast food restaurant. However, as she was trying to make sense of it, the forum chair called to confirm that in fact a fast food restaurant had not been robbed and that a couple were followed by the suspects from a bank and were robbed of their cash. The forum chair was able to answer the necessary information.	The call-back re-affirms that the news editor has established a relationship with the chairperson that shows the newspaper wants and need the news timeously.
The news and digital editors sat together to update the story and write a cohesive story, using both what the forum chair had said and the news sent by Journalist 6 from the paramedic. Journalist 7's photos and video were also uploaded.	The journalists are encouraged to use multimedia in order to tell their stories and Journalist 7 did this without being prompted by the news editor. The news editor also knew that they needed to state that the robbery did not take place at the fast food franchise to ensure the advertisers were kept happy.
The team was concerned that they had not yet obtained comment from the police.	This was a concern but warning the community about the incident was a priority.
The community was very interested in the story and were clicking to read	This shows the community's interest in local news and that they know to

the story and commenting on the state of crime. They were also using <i>Fourways Review's</i> advice to stay clear of the area and were waiting for updates. The team let them know when the operation was over.	access this news from <i>Fourways Review</i> .
The chair of the forum called again to say that the fast food restaurant was upset that they had been unfairly implicated in the original article, and asked if the team would consider removing the name from the initial story. As the story had been updated and it would not alter the meaning of the story and the fact was incorrect, the team decided to do so.	The pressure from advertisers does influence the editors' editorial decisions.
Many community members were reading the story, with around 80 people on the website. The team then decided to boost the post on Facebook. The boost is paid for and allows the post, with the link to the article to reach a wider audience than only those community members who are members of the Facebook page. The aim is to generate a wider readership.	The branch is spending money in order to grow the reach of its websites. This is different from its community newspapers which are aimed specifically at the Fourways residents.
The news editor understands that her team felt under pressure and worked hard to get the story and therefore sent a message to thank Journalist 7,	The digital editor is experienced while the two journalists need support, however, everyone needs encouragement and to feel part of the

Journalist 6 and the digital editor for their hard work on the story.	team. They did a good job and were acknowledged.
The central team had missed the story but when the digital editor sent them the link to the story, they were unhappy with the headline and wanted the name of the restaurant or a point of reference to a place to be mentioned. The news and digital editor were happy with their headline and decided not to change it.	The editors are sure of their own abilities and take a stand when they believe in their decisions.
By 4pm, Journalist 7 sent the news editor the full comment from the police. This was then uploaded by the digital editor who works the 9am to 5pm shift onto the website as another update.	The shift system is at play and while it does not always work, it worked well in this instance.
Journalist 7 sent this update on her phone as she was attending a community event at the time.	The journalists know that when they have information, even if they are in the field, they need to send it to the editors. This is in reference to the websites, rather than for the newspapers.
Journalist 7 attended a ball for the crowning of a community member during the evening.	The journalists attend evening and weekend events, which is considered as working overtime and they can make up for this by organising with the news editor to take leave for the time worked.
After the news editor had left the office the fast food restaurant called the office to say that they were upset	Advertising pressure often dictates the editors' moves when removing companies' names from their articles.

that they had been named and so the tweets which mentioned their name needed to be edited.	
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11 September 2015

Observations	Personal impressions
Fridays are deadline days for the newspaper. While the journalists are required to produce three original stories daily and process press releases on a daily basis, the <i>Fourways Review</i> journalists are asked to get their stories, which are needed for the following week's newspaper ready as early as possible in order for the sub-editors to manage the content flow so that the subbed stories can be allocated to the pages on a Friday afternoon, ready for Monday's newspaper. Events that the journalists attend over the weekends are written first thing on Monday morning, subbed and allocated to the appropriate pages by 10am.	The week's worth of stories are assessed on a Friday for which are relevant and most timely for the newspaper.
Most of the journalists' stories are written for online and for the newspaper. However, stories, such as Journalist 7's breaking news story, need to be re-written and rounded up for the newspaper. The news editor	While stories that appear online can be updated as new information comes in; for the newspaper, the stories need to be written succinctly and in the order of leading with the most recent information.

decides which stories need to be written differently for the newspaper, opposed to online, and communicates with the journalist.	
The central digital team sent a message to the news and digital editors to say that some other news agency had reports that said a bystander allegedly shot suspects during an armed robbery. It was discovered that this was the same information that the team had already reported on in their update to the shooting on Thursday.	The central team is there to support the news and digital editors but they often don't follow the news themselves which frustrates the news and digital editors. This makes the team feel unsupported when trying to get the news out to the community.
Journalist 6 typed her stories in the office, while Journalist 7 worked from the Fourways area in a coffee shop. Journalist 8 was on leave.	
Journalist 7 submitted the story from the previous night's event, the crowning of the new Miss Earth winner. She also wrote the newspaper version of the story on the shooting on Thursday. This version is a re-cap with full details of what happened and can be used either as a summary of what happened on the day and is aimed to give those readers who followed the story a succinct re-cap while informing those readers who did not read the online version of the story.	The news team is aware that not all sectors of the community access the <i>Fourways Review</i> website and therefore both platforms cater to the specific readers as well as those community members who read both the newspaper and the website.

<p>Journalist 7 also took up a controversial story of a new stable yard for horses that was opening its doors, however, not all community members were happy about it as some believed that the developers were not pro-equestrian and actually want to build a road through wetlands in an area which is a large breeding site for African bull frogs. For the story, Journalist 7 used the help of the news editor, who had previously worked on the story and had been following it for a number of years. The news editor was able to guide Journalist 7 on how to approach the story, inform her of some background to the story and help her to ensure the story was balanced.</p>	<p>The community members alerted the news editor to their concerns and wanted to have their say in a story on the new development. In order to ensure the story was reported on fairly, the news editor suggested that Journalist 7 write two stories, one on the opening of the event with photos of who was there; and another on the community's concerns and the developer's comments.</p>
<p>The community members called the news editor to check that the story was balanced and showed their side of the story. They also wanted to read the story before it was sent to print in order to ensure that the story represented their views accurately.</p>	<p>These community members in an area called Kyalami, have a reliance on working with journalists who they believe understand their stance against development in the area. They have worked with the news editor for a number of years and therefore depend on the news editor to ensure that the journalist who writes their stories represents their best interests. They do however understand the need for balanced reporting and therefore do not silence</p>

	the other side of the story. It is more about them ensuring that their views are represented correctly.
Journalist 7 listened to the news editor's suggestions on the story. The community was happy with the story.	There is a respect for the hierarchy system.
Journalist 6 worked on a profile on a ward councillor as well as some press releases.	
Journalist 6 is on duty for the weekend and the news editor discussed which events needed to be attended and where social photos needed to be taken. An email with information was also sent.	The news editor believes it is important that the journalists' duties are spoken about, so that relevant questions can be asked, but that it is also important for the journalists to have the information in writing, with the community members' cell phone numbers and the information they need in order to ensure that they fulfil their duties.
The news editor returned a call from a community member who said she was having a weekend event. The news editor explained that the team was already booked up for the weekend. The community member wasn't happy, despite the news editor's attempts to try to set up a meeting with her and a journalist for the following week. The community member had said she would even be available at 7am on Saturday and	This shows that the community wants the newspaper to be available to cover any and all events. They also expect the team to be on call at all times.

Sunday mornings for the story to be done.	
Journalist 6 and another intern journalist from the newsroom, who is an avid sports fan attended the send-off for the Springboks. They tweeted from the event and after the event the intern contacted the news editor to provide information on what happened so that she could write it up as a story for the website.	The intern journalist was concerned to get the story online quickly so as to keep up with other media houses.